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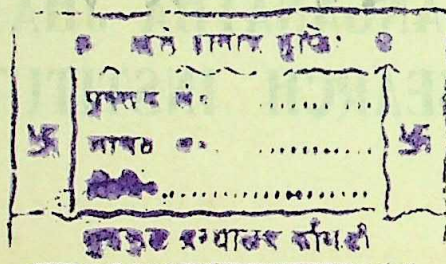
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THREE GEMS IN JAINISM

By Dr. B. C. LAW

RIGHT belief, right knowledge, and right conduct, constitute the path to liberation and they are called three gems in Jainism, as the *Buddha* (the Enlightened), *Dharma* (the Doctrine) and *Samgha* (the Order) are recognised in Buddhism as three gems (*ratanatraya*). Each of them can be considered in its threefold aspects, e.g., the subject, the object and the means. The knowledge, which embraces concisely or in details the predicaments as they are in themselves, is called the right knowledge and without which right conduct is impossible.¹ In right knowledge there is the knower, the known, and the means of knowing. In right belief there is the believer, that which is believed and the means of believing. In right conduct there is the pursuer of conduct, conduct itself, and the means of conducting. The right belief is the basis upon which the other two rest. It is the cause and right knowledge is the effect. Right conduct is caused by right knowledge and implies both right knowledge and right belief. Right knowledge proceeds from right vision by a coherent train of thought and reasoning and which can lead to right conduct without which the attainment of the goal in vision will be impossible. The five kinds of knowledge are the

¹ Nahar and Ghosh, *An Epitome of Jainism*, p. 35.

following : (1) knowledge through the instrumentality of sense, (2) knowledge derived from the study of scriptures, (3) direct knowledge of matter within the limits of time and space, (4) direct knowledge of others' thoughts and (5) perfect knowledge. The five kinds of conduct according to the *Sūtrakṛtāṅga*² are the following : Equanimity, recovery of equanimity after a downfall, pure and absolute non-injury, all but entire freedom from passion, and ideal and passionless state. Right belief, right knowledge, right conduct, and right austerities are called the *ārādhanaś*. Right belief depends on the acquaintance with truth, on the devotion to those who know the truth, and on the avoiding of schismatical and heretical tenets. There is no right conduct without right belief, and it must be cultivated for obtaining right faith; righteousness and conduct originate together or righteousness precedes conduct.³

Samyagdarśana is of two kinds : (1) belief with attachment, having the following signs : calmness (*praśama*), fear of, mundane existence in five cycles of wanderings (*samvega*), substance (*dravya*), place (*kṣetra*), time (*kāla*), thought-activity (*bhāva*) and compassion towards all living beings (*anukampā*); and the second kind of *samyagdarśana* is belief without attachment (the purity of the soul itself).

The right belief is attained by intuition and acquisition of knowledge from external sources. It is the result of subsidence (*upaśama*), destruction-subsidence (*kṣayopaśama*) and destruction of right belief deluding *karma* (*darśanamohanīya-karma*). Right belief is not identical with

² 1. 1, 4, 10-13.

³ *Uttarādhyāyasūtra*, XXVIII, 28-29 :

Paramathasamtthavo vā suditthaparamatthasevaṇaṃ vā vi |

Vāvaṇṇakudamsaṇavajjaṇā ya sammattasaddabhaṇā ||

Natthi carittam sammattavibhūnam dāsaṇe u bhāiyavvam |

Sammattacarittāṇi jugavaṇi pūvaṇi va sammattam ||

faith. It is reasoned knowledge. *Adhigama* is knowledge which is derived from intuition, external sources, e.g., precepts and scriptures. It is attained by means of *pramāṇa* and *naya*. *Pramāṇa* is nothing but direct or indirect evidence for testing the knowledge of the self and the non-self. *Naya* is nothing but a standpoint which gives partial knowledge of a thing in some of its aspects.

Right knowledge is of five kinds: (1) knowledge through senses—knowledge of the self and the non-self through the agency of the senses of mind; (2) knowledge derived from the study of the scriptures; (3) direct knowledge of matter in various degrees with reference to subject-matter, space, time, and quality of the object known; (4) direct knowledge of the thoughts of others, simple or complex; and (5) perfect knowledge. Knowledge (*antarāya*)⁴, belief, charity, gain, enjoyment, re-enjoyment, power, faith, and conduct are the nine kinds of energies (*vīryas*).

The road to final deliverance depends on four causes and is characterised by right knowledge and faith. The road as taught by the Jinās consists of (1) right knowledge, (2) faith, (3) conduct and (4) austerities. Human beings will obtain beatitude by following this road. According to the *Sūtrakertāṅga* knowledge is also derived from perception (*ābhiniṃśika*). It is derived from one's own experience, thought or understanding. It is also derived from supernatural knowledge (*avadhi*).⁵ *Manahparyāya* or the knowledge of the thoughts of others and *Kevala* or the highest and unlimited knowledge are included in the category of fivefold knowledge. Knowledge of the distant non-sensible in time or space possessed by divine and internal souls is one of the five kinds of knowledge. The Buddhist *antavantañāna* is evidently the same term as Jain

⁴ *Tattvārthādhiḡamasūtra*, Jacobi's Ed., p. 536.

⁵ *Kalpasūtra* of Bhadrabāhu, 15—*Qbina ābhoemaṇa*.

avaśbijñāna. The Buddhist *aparīṣeṣa* occurring as a predicate of unlimited knowledge and vision is just the synonym of the Jain term *Kevala* which is nothing but the highest knowledge and intuition.

Samyagdarśana or right faith consists in an insight into the meaning of truths as proclaimed and taught, a mental perception of the excellence of the system as propounded, a personal conviction as to the greatness and goodness of the teacher, and a ready acceptance of certain articles of faith for one's own guidance. It is intended to remove all doubts and scepticism from one's mind and to establish or re-establish faith. It is such a form of faith as is likely to inspire action by opening a new vista of life and its perfection. Right faith on the one hand and inaction, vacillation, on the other, are mutually incompatible. The Buddhist idea of right view (*sammādiṭṭhi*) conveys the sense of faith or belief rather than that of any metaphysical view or theory. It is in some such sense that the Jains use the term *sammādaṃsaṇa*. The Buddhist *sammādiṭṭhi* suggests an article of faith which consists in the acceptance of the belief that there is such a thing as gift, that there is such a thing as sacrifice etc.⁶ There cannot be right faith unless there is a clear pre-perception of the moral, intellectual or spiritual situation which is to arise. Right faith is that form of faith which is only a stepping stone to knowledge (*paññā* or *prajñā*).

Jñāna, *darśana* and *cāritra* (knowledge, faith and virtue) are the three terms that signify the comprehensiveness of Jainism as taught by Mahāvīra. One should learn the true road leading to final deliverance which the Jinās have taught; it depends on four causes and is characterised by right knowledge, faith, conduct, and austerities. Beings who follow this

⁶ *Majjhima*, I, 285 ff.

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road will obtain beatitude.⁷ The *Uttarādhyāyanaśūtra*⁸ adds austerities as the fourth to the usual earlier list of three terms, namely, right knowledge, faith and conduct. The first kind of knowledge in Jainism corresponds to what the Buddhists call *sutamaya paññā*; the second kind, to what they call *cintāmayā paññā*; the third kind, to what they call *vilekhaṇa*; the fourth kind, to what they call *cetopariyāya ñāṇa*; and the fifth kind, to what they call *sabbhāññutā* or omniscience consisting in three faculties; of reviewing and recalling to mind all past existences with details, of perceiving the destiny of other beings according to their deeds, and of being conscious of the final destruction of sins.

Avadhijñāna is rather knowledge which is co-extensive with the object other than knowledge which is supernatural. *Avadhi* here means that which is just sufficient to survey the field of observation⁹. The *manahparyāyajñāna* is defined in the *Ācārāṅga sūtra*¹⁰ as a knowledge of the thoughts of all sentient beings. *Kevalajñāna* is defined therein as omniscience enabling a person to comprehend all objects, and to know all conditions of the world of gods, men and demons.¹¹ Knowledge as represented in the Jaina *Angas* is rather religious vision, intention, or wisdom than knowledge in a metaphysical sense.

⁷ *Uttarādhyāyana sūtra*, XVIII, 1-3 :

Mokkhamaggagaim taccam suṇeha jinabbāsīyam |
Caukārāṇasamjuttam nāṇadamsaṇalakekhaṇam ||
Nāṇam ca dāṇsaṇam ceva carittam ca tavotabā |
Esa maggutti pannatto jñehim Vāradamsiḥim ||
Nāṇam ca dāṇsaṇam ceva carittam ca tavotabā |
Eyamaggamanuppattā jivāgacchanti soggaṇim ||

⁸ XXVIII, 2-3.

⁹ II, 15, 23; *Jainasūtras*, S.B.E., II, 152.

¹⁰ Cf. *Kalpasūtra*, 15.

¹¹ *Ācārāṅga*, II, 15.25.

A man of knowledge is a man of faith and a man of faith is a man of action. Virtue consists in right conduct. There is no right conduct without right belief and no right belief without the right perception of truth.¹² The *Sūtrakṛtāṅga*¹³ points out that the threefold restraint namely, the restraint as regards body, speech, and mind, can enable a person to achieve the purity of morals, which is the quintessence of right conduct. The first step to virtue lies in the avoidance of sins. There are three ways of committing sins: (1) by one's own activity; (2) by commission; and (3) by approval of the deed.¹⁴ The cardinal principles of *cāritra* as taught by Mahāvīra may be thus summed up: not to kill anything, to live according to the rules of conduct and without greed, to take care of the highest good, to control oneself always in walking, sitting and lying down, and in the matter of food and drink, to get rid of pride, wrath, deceit and greed, to possess the *samitis*,¹⁵ to be protected by the five *samvaras*,¹⁶ and to reach perfection by remaining unfettered among the fettered.¹⁷

¹² *Uttarādhyāyanasūtra*, XXVIII, 28, 29.

¹³ 1, 1, 2.27.

¹⁴ *Sūtrakṛtāṅga*, I, 1. 2. 26.

¹⁵ The five *samitis* and three *gūptis* constitute eight articles of the Jain Creed. They are the means of self-control (Cf. *Uttarādhyāyanasūtra*, XXIV, 1). The five *samitis* are the following : (1) a man who would be holy must take the greatest care whenever he walks anywhere, not to injure any living thing (*Īryasamiti*); (2) one must guard the words of one's mouth (*bhāṣāsamiti*); (3) circumspection must be exercised about all matters connected with eating (*śaṇāsamiti*); (4) a holy man (*sādhu*) must be careful to possess only five cloths, (*ādānaniksepaṇā samiti*); (5) a careful disposal of rubbish and refuse is one of the ways of preventing *karma* being acquired (*utsarga-samiti* or *parithāpanikā samiti*),—S. Stevenson, *Heart of Jainism*, pp. 145 ff.).

¹⁶ *Samvara* means the prevention of sins by watchfulness. It is the principle of self-control by which the influx of sins is checked. The category of *samvara* comprehends the whole sphere of right conduct. It is an aspect of *tapas*. Some hold that it is the gradual cessation of the influx into the soul along with the development of knowledge.

¹⁷ *Sūtrakṛtāṅga*, I, 1. 4. 10-13

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Right knowledge, faith and conduct, which are the three essential points in the teachings of Mahāvīra, constitute the path of Jainism, leading to the destruction of *Karma* and to perfection (*siddhi*).¹⁸ Here destruction means the exhaustion of accumulated effects of action in the past and the stoppage of the future rise of such effects.

By the teaching of right knowledge, by the avoidance of ignorance and delusion and by the destruction of love and hatred, one arrives at deliverance which is nothing but bliss. Obstruction to knowledge is fivefold: (a) obstruction to knowledge derived from sacred books (*sūtra*); (b) obstruction to perception (*ābhinibodhika*); (c) obstruction to supernatural knowledge (*avadhijñāna*); (d) obstruction to knowledge of the thoughts of others (*manahparyāya*) and (e) obstruction to the highest, unlimited knowledge (*kevala*). The following are the different kinds of obstruction to right faith: sleep (*niddā*), activity (*payalā*), very deep sleep (*niddāniddā*), a high degree of activity (*payala-payalā*), and a state of deep-rooted greed (*thīnagiddhī*). *Mohanīya* is twofold as referring to faith and conduct. The three kinds of *mohanīya* referring to faith are right faith (*sammattam*), wrong faith (*micchattam*) and faith, partly right and partly wrong (*sammāmicchattam*). The two kinds of *mohanīya* referring to conduct are : (1) what is experienced in the form of the four cardinal passions and (2) what is experienced in the form of feelings different from them.¹⁹

Right knowledge is, in fact, knowledge of the Jain creed. When right knowledge is possessed, one can know what virtue is and what vows he ought to keep. To hold the truth as truth and the untruth as untruth, this is true faith. To a monk right conduct means the absolute

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, 1, 2.1.21, 22.

¹⁹ *Uttarādhyayana sūtra*, XXXIII, 5-10.

keeping of the five great vows.²⁰ His conduct should be perfect for he must follow the conduct laid down for him in every particular. A lay man is only expected to possess partial conduct, for, so long as he is not a professed monk, he cannot be absolutely perfect in conduct. Right conduct can be ruined by three evil darts (*śalya*), the first of these is intrigue or fraud (*māyāśalya*) for no one can gain a good character whose life is governed by deceit. Even in holy matters, e.g., fasting, intrigue can make itself felt. The next poisonous dart is false belief (*mithyātvaśalya*) which consists in holding a false god to be a true one, a false *guru* to be a true *guru*, and a false religion to be a true religion; by so doing one absolutely injures right knowledge and right faith, which lead to right conduct. Covetousness (*nidānaśalya*) is the third poisonous dart which destroys right conduct. When a man is performing austerities, if he admits some such worldly thought into his mind as 'after this austerity I may have gained sufficient merit to become a king or a rich merchant', that very reflection being stained with covetousness, has destroyed, like a poisonous dart, all the merit that he might have gained through the act; in the same way if a man indulges vindictive thoughts when he is performing austerities, the fruit of his action is lost, no merit is acquired and no *karma* destroyed.²¹ The Jains believe in right knowledge, right faith and right conduct, referring to an impersonal system; each of the Christian jewels, Faith, Hope and Love, refers to a personal Redeemer. It is interesting to note that the Jain religion enshrines no faith in a supreme deity; but for the Christian the dark problems of sin and suffering

²⁰ (a) Abstinence from killing living beings (Cf. Buddhist *pāṇātipātā veramaṇi*), (b) avoidance of falsehood (Cf. Buddhist *musavādā veramaṇi*), (c) avoidance of theft (*adinnādānā veramaṇi*), (d) freedom from possessions (Cf. Buddhist *Jātariṇaparajataṭṭiggahāṇā veramaṇi*), and (e) chastity (For details vide Law, *Indological Studies*, pt. III, pp. 248 ff.).

²¹ S. Stevenson, *The Heart of Jainism*, 245 ff.

are lit up by his faith in the character and power of God which ensure the ultimate triumph of righteousness. In Jainism Hope is almost a meaningless word, but in Christianity the present circumstances of a human being and his future are alike bathed in the golden sunshine of Hope, so that hopefulness may be said to be the very centre of the Christian creed and the foundation of its joy. In Jainism love to a personal god would be an attachment that could only bind him faster to the cycle of re-birth, but in Christianity Love is the fulfilling of the law and it is in its light that the Christians tread the upward path.²²

In Jainism faith is produced by nature (*nisarga*), instruction (*upadeśa*), command (*āgñā*), study of the *sūtras*, suggestion (*bīja*), comprehension of the meaning of the sacred lore (*abhiḡama*), complete course of study (*viśtāra*), religious exercise (*kriyā*), brief exposition (*saṃkṣepa*) and reality (*dharmā*).²³

According to the Buddhists, faith is the basic principle of all virtuous deeds. It is the germinating principle of human culture.²⁴ It is characterised by two marks: (1) tranquillising in the sense of making all obstacles to disappear and rendering consciousness clear, and (2) leaping high to achieve that what has not been achieved, to master that what has not been mastered, and to realise that what has not been realised. Faith is nothing but trust in the *Buddha*, *Dhamma* and *Samgha* (Buddha, Doctrine and Order). According to the celebrated Pali Buddhist commentator Buddhaghosa, it is an act of believing in the sense of plunging, breaking, entering into qualities of the

²² *Ibid.*, 247 ff.

²³ *Uttarādhyaṃśasūtra*, XXVIII, 16 :

Nisagguvaesarū āṇarū sutta-vīyaruimeva /
Abhiḡama-vitthārarū kiriyā-saṃkṣeva-dhammarū //

²⁴ *Suttanipāta*, V. 77.

Buddha and the rest and rejoicing over them.²⁵ It is the guiding factor of charity, morality and religion in the sense that it precedes all charitable, moral, and spiritual instincts and dispositions (*Saddhā pubbaṅgamā purecārikā bhūti*).²⁶ It is transforming itself into *bhakti* or devotion. It is associated with love or *prema*. The noble eightfold path is the development of the five controlling faculties and powers, one of which is *śraddhā* or faith. The other element that accompanies faith is *pasāda*, a sense of assurance, attended by a serene delight out of satisfaction of a man's spiritual need.²⁷ The Buddha in agreement with Mahāvīra held that doubt and faith are two opposite states of mind so that the affirmation of one implies the negation of the other.²⁸ According to the Buddhists there are three species of doubt and three species of faith. The Buddha himself said that he had not found out any other element than earnestness which was conducive to the greatest good and to the stability of the faith. He further pointed out that earnestness was the only thing which preserved faith from getting perverted and from disappearing.²⁹

Aśvaghoṣa's *śraddhā* or faith is the first of the five *indriyas* and *balas* of Buddhism. The representation of *śraddhā* as the seed of higher life is thoroughly Buddhist.³⁰ With the canonical dictum *saddhā bījam*, it was easy for Aśvaghoṣa to elaborate the idea as contained in his

²⁵ *Atthasālinī*, p. 145.

²⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 120.

²⁷ Pūnappunam bhājanavasena saddhā va bhatti. Pemaṃ saddhā-pemaṃ gehasitapemaṃ pi vaṭṭati. Pasādo saddhāpasādo va—*Puggala-paññetti Commentary*, 248.

²⁸ *Majjhima*, I, p. 101; Cf. *Sthānāṅga*, p. 289.

²⁹ *Anguttara*, I, pp. 16-17; vide also *Buddhist Studies*, Ed. B. C. Law, Ch. XII.

³⁰ *Sāmdarananṭa-Kāvya*, XII, 39.

*Saundarananda-kāvya*³¹ It has been pointed out by Āśva-ghoṣa that of the eight factors that constitute the noble eightfold path, right speech, right action and right livelihood are to be practised for the mastery of the actions (*Śīlāśrayaṃ karma-pari-grahāya*); right view, right resolve, and right effort are to be practised in the sphere of knowledge for the destruction of passions causing afflictions (*prajñāśrayaṃ kleśa-pari-keṣayāya*); and right mindfulness and right concentration are to be practised in the sphere of tranquillity for the control of mind (*śamāśrayaṃ citta-pari-grahāya*). Broadly speaking, the noble eightfold path is the development of the five controlling faculties and powers called *śraddhā* (faith), *vīrya* (energy), *smṛti* (mindfulness), *saṃādhi* (concentration) and *prajñā* (knowledge or wisdom).

According to the Mahāyāna Buddhists the nature of *dharma* is the perfection of wisdom. Being free from darkness of ignorance, one should practise *prajñāpāramitā*³². The central idea behind all these is the practice of *yoga* or meditation without which neither the highest happiness nor the highest knowledge is attainable.

Prajñā enables us to grasp the true nature of things. The real urge to the higher and progressive life comes from *śraddhā*, meaning faith, belief, confidence, as well as aspiration. Just as a man begins to dig the earth,

³¹ (i) Canto XII, vs. 39-41; cf. *Saddhā bijam, tapo vuṭṭhi, paññā me yuganaṅgalam*.

(ii) *Punaśca bijamityuktā nimittam śreyasotpādā |
pāvanārthena pāpasya nadityabhibhitā punaḥ ||
yasmāddharmasya cōtpattau Śraddhā kāraṇāmuttamam |
mayoktā kāryatastasmāt tatra tatra tathā tathā ||
Śraddhāṅkuraṇamimam tasmāt samvardhayaṭumarhasi |
tad vṛddhau vardhate dharmo mūlavṛddhau yathā drumam ||*

Cf. *Suttanipāta*, P. T. S., p. 43, v. 77.

³² Suzuki, *Outlines of Mahayana Buddhism*, p. 69; Cf. *Dhammasaṅgani*, p. 15; *Dīgha*, I., 62 ff.; *Suttanipāta*, pp. 77, 329, etc.

when he believes that there is water underneath and he has need of it, or rubs the fire-stick only when he has the need of fire and believes in its existence in the fire-stick or sows seeds in the soil, when he believes in the growth of corn and feels its necessity; so he begins to cherish the longing for the Law, when he sincerely believes in the growth of higher life through it and feels its need. Faith may be called the Hand since it grasps the good doctrine of itself as a hand receives a gift.³³ It is described as the faculty because of its paramountcy in control, as strength because of its steadfastness, and as wealth since it places us above the want of virtue. It is to be called the reed-arrow, because of its power of protecting the Law and the Jewel. It is indeed the seed from which the highest good originates and the river which cleanses us from sins. With the growth of faith grows the Law, as a tree grows with the growth of its root. But as long as the truth is not seen or heard, so long faith does not become strong or firm. When along with self-control the real truth is seen, the tree of faith bears fruit and becomes the vehicle of progress.³⁴

True knowledge gives a correct sketch of the external objects in all the diversity of their characteristics. It is for this reason that knowledge is our immediate and most prominent means of serving our purposes. True knowledge is that which gives such a correct and faithful representation of the object as is never afterwards found to be contradicted. Knowledge, when imparted directly in association with the organs in sense-perception, is very clear, vivid and distinct and is called perceptual (*pratyakṣa*); sense-perception is really the only form of valid knowledge;

³³ *Saddhāvattha*, Cf. *Visuddhimagga*, p. 464; *Theragāthā* vs. 694 and 1090; *Anguttara*, III, 346; *Milindapañha*, 413.

³⁴ Law, *Aśṭaṅga*, pp. 85-86; *Saundarananda-Kāvya*, Canto V, vs. 39-43.

when attained otherwise, the knowledge is not so clear and vivid and is then called non-perceptual (*parokṣa*).³⁵

According to the Buddhists, *sammāditṭhi* conveys the sense of faith or belief rather than that of any of metaphysical view or theory. It is precisely in some such sense that the Jains use the term *sammādaṃsana*. According to the Sāleyyaka sutta of the *Majjhimanikāya*³⁶ *sammāditṭhi* suggests an article of faith which is contrary to that which was inculcated by Ajitakesakambalī and his followers. *Sammāsaṃkappa* or right resolve represents just the will-aspect of the Buddhist faith. It consists in the direct action of the will towards the goal. Some of the earlier *Upaniṣads* teach that all that a man earnestly desires to attain, comes to the fulfilment from the very determination of will. The Buddhist Saṃgītisuttanta of the *Dighanikāya*³⁷ recognises *sammājñāna* or right knowledge as one of the additional factors in the noble eight-fold path. Right view, which is included in the noble eightfold path, is defined as knowledge in respect of the four items of truth.

In Hinduism, knowledge (*jñāna*) which illuminates all things, is regarded only as a quality belonging to soul, just as there are other qualities of material objects. The genesis of knowledge is also viewed as similar in nature to the production of any other physical event. Just as by the collocation of certain physical circumstances a jug and its qualities are produced, so by the combination and respective contacts of the soul, mind, sense and the objects of sense, knowledge is produced. Soul with Nyāya is an inert unconscious entity in which knowledge

³⁵ *Jaina-Tarka-Vārttika* of Siddhasena, Ch. I.; S. N. Dasgupta, *History of Indian Philosophy*, Vol. I, p. 183.

³⁶ Vol. I. 285 ff.

³⁷ Vol. III. p. 271.

inheres. Sāṅkhya first supposed knowledge to be merely a combination of changing reals and then as a matter of necessity had to admit a fixed principle as *puruṣa* (pure transcendent consciousness). We can only be certain that knowledge has been produced by the perceptual act, but there is nothing in this knowledge from which we can infer that the perception is also objectively valid or true. If the production of any knowledge should certify its validity, then there would be no invalidity, no illusory knowledge. It is meaningless to speak of the validity for validity always refers to objective realisation of our desires and attempts proceeding in accordance with our knowledge. The validity or truth of knowledge is the attainment by practical experience of the object and the fulfilment of all our purposes from it, just as perception or knowledge represented them to the perceiver. The Nyāya objection is based on the supposition that knowledge is generated by certain objective collocations of conditions, and that knowledge so produced can only be tested by its agreement with objective facts. But this theory of knowledge is merely a hypothesis, for it can never be experienced that knowledge is the product of any collocation. Knowledge reveals to us the facts of the objective world and this is always experienced by us. That the objective world generates knowledge in us is only a hypothesis, which can hardly be demonstrated by experience. It is the supreme prerogative of knowledge that it reveals all other things. Knowledge only photographs the objective phenomena for us, but there is nothing to show that knowledge has been generated by these phenomena. Knowledge is not like any other phenomena for it stands above them and interprets or illumines them. As soon as knowledge is produced, objects are revealed to us. Whenever there is any knowledge, it carries with it the impression that it is certain and valid. There is no indecision in our

mind at the time of the rise of knowledge as to the correctness of knowledge. But just as knowledge rises, it carries with it the certainty of its revelation, presence or action. What Mīmāṃsā means is this that the validity of knowledge appears immediately with its rise; though its invalidity may be derived from later experience or some other data (*Jñānasya prāmāṇyam svataḥ aprāmāṇyam parataḥ*). Knowledge attained is proved invalid, when a contradictory experience comes in later or when our organs are known to be faulty and defective. All knowledge except memory is regarded as valid independently by itself as a general rule, unless it is invalidated later.

All knowledge involves the knower, the known object, and the knowledge at the same identical moment. All knowledge must necessarily reveal the self or the knower directly. As in all knowledge the self is directly and immediately perceived, all knowledge may be regarded as perception from the point of view of self. The self has no illumining or revealing powers, for then even in deep sleep, we could have knowledge. It is knowledge that reveals by its very appearance the self, the knower and the objects. It is generally argued against the self-illuminative character of knowledge that all cognitions are of the forms of the objects they are said to reveal. Prabhākara draws a subtle distinction between perceptuality (*saṃvedyatva*) and object of knowledge (*prameyatva*). A thing can only be apprehended by perception, whereas inference can only indicate the presence of an object, without apprehending the object itself. Our cognition cannot be apprehended by any other cognition. Inference can only indicate the presence of knowledge, but cannot apprehend the cognition itself.³⁸

The *Bhagavadgītā* lays much stress on the need of

³⁸ Vide *Prabhākaramīmāṃsā* by Dr. Ganganatha Jha; S. N. Das Gupta, *A History of Indian Philosophy*, Vol. I., pp. 367 ff.

śraddhā (faith) for a devotee. *Śraddhā* is of three kinds: *sāttvikī*, *rājasā* and *tāmasī*. That alone is *sāttvikī* (the highest) which is related to the worship of the Eternal Being. The highest form of *śraddhā* is followed by those who worship the gods alone, while the second and third forms of *śraddhā* enjoin worship of demons etc.³⁹ *Sāttvikī yajña* has no aim for fruits.⁴⁰ *Yajña* (sacrifice) which is performed with a purpose and devoid of faith is the *tāmasa* form.⁴¹ When a man follows *yoga* with the highest devotion and without any desire for its fruit (*phala*), he may be said to perform *sāttvika yoga*.⁴² Charity, *yoga* or sacrifice, whatever is performed without faith, will be fruitless in this world or the next.⁴³

A man of faith having senses under control acquires knowledge and after acquiring knowledge soon attains great peace of mind⁴⁴ which is salvation.⁴⁵ One who is ignorant, having no faith, and of doubtful mind, perishes. He has neither peace nor happiness in this world or in the next.⁴⁶ Knowledge alone dispels doubt; it is like the sword⁴⁷ that destroys doubt of the mind; after the human mind is freed from doubt, it can concentrate on *karma* (yoga).⁴⁸ The Eternal (*vibhu*) is above good or evil. The beings have their senses enveloped in ignorance. When a man's ignorance is dispelled by knowledge, his

³⁹ *Gītā*, XVII., 2-4.

⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, XVII, 11; Cf. *Karmanyevādhikāraste mā phaleṣu kadācana-*
Ibid., II, p. 47.

⁴¹ *Ibid.*, XVII, 13

⁴² *Ibid.*, XVII, 17.

⁴³ *Ibid.*, XVII, 28.

⁴⁴ *Sānti* here means 'mokṣa', according to the commentator Śrīdharaśwāmī.

⁴⁵ *Gītā*, IV, 39.

⁴⁶ *Ibid.*, IV, 40.

⁴⁷ By 'Sword' is here meant—'Sword of knowledge' (jñānāsi).

⁴⁸ *Gītā*, IV, 41-42.

knowledge fully reveals the Eternal Being: (*tat paṇam*), just as the sun removes all darkness and makes things prominent.⁴⁹ Those who have firm faith in God, those who have their minds fixed upon Him alone, and those who find refuge in Him, attain liberation, because their sins are already washed away by the highest knowledge.⁵⁰ Such persons look upon all different beings alike (*sama-darsī*), and as they conquer the *saṃsāra* while alive they take refuge in *Brahma*. They never rejoice in happiness or tremble in misery, they are of steady mind. They enjoy eternal peace by meditation in *Brahma*.⁵¹ Earthly enjoyments are meaningless to them for they are perishable. Having controlled the force of desire, anger, he is a self-meditative and self-contented *yogī*, who taking refuge in *Brahma* becomes unified with the Eternal or *Brahma*.⁵² With his sins destroyed, senses controlled, doubts removed, and mind devoted to the welfare of all beings, he attains *nirvāṇa* in *Brahma*. Such a sage (*muni*) is liberated even when he is alive.⁵³ Knowing God to be the guide or friend of all beings, a man attains peace or liberation.⁵⁴

A *yogī* has his mind fixed upon his soul, indifferent to all passions and desires—he is meditative. With his senses controlled he remains like a lamp undisturbed by the force of mind.⁵⁵ When a being attains the highest in life, he is unmoved by great sorrow.⁵⁶ It is difficult

⁴⁹ *Ibid.* V., 15–16.

⁵⁰ *Ibid.*, V. 17.

⁵¹ *Ibid.* V. 18–21.

⁵² *Ibid.* V. 22–24, cf. the commentator Śrīdharaswāmī takes it to mean *nirvāṇa* in *Brahma*.

⁵³ *Gītā*, V. 25–28.

⁵⁴ *Ibid.*, V. 29.

⁵⁵ *Ibid.*, VI, 18–19—*Dīpo nirvāṇastho*.

⁵⁶ *Ibid.*, VI, 22–23.

to make unsteady mind firm or steady, but by practice and indifference to worldly attachment mind is controlled.⁵⁷ By *yoga* the *yogī* attains salvation (*yogī param sthānamupaiti cādyam*).⁵⁸

Those who have fixed their attention on God alone are delivered by God.⁵⁹ By continued practice alone a human being can make his mind firm.⁶⁰ Those who take refuge in God forsaking all *karma* are truly⁶¹ devoted. Those who are indifferent to joys and sorrows, blame and praise, and of contented mind, are dear to God. Those who are devoted and have taken refuge in God are loved by God.⁶² According to Pāṇini, devotion works for knowledge.⁶³ The *Mānavadharmasāstra*⁶⁴ says that good conduct is the excellent root of austerity. A *snātaka* should eagerly follow the rule of good conduct.⁶⁵ Virtuous conduct gives long life, desirable offspring, and imperishable wealth.⁶⁶

⁵⁷ *Ibid.*, VI., 35.

⁵⁸ *Ibid.*, VIII, 28.

⁵⁹ *Ibid.* XII., 8.

⁶⁰ *Ibid.* XII. 9.

⁶¹ *Ibid.* XII, 17.

⁶² *Ibid.*, XII, 18-20.

⁶³ *Bhaktir-jñānāyaka* 1.4.44.

⁶⁴ I. 110

⁶⁵ *Gītā.*, IV, 145.

⁶⁶ *Ibid.*, IV, 156.

THE ŚIVA-DHARMOTTARA

By Dr. R. C. HAZRA

THIS is an interesting and fairly popular work¹ awaiting publication. Like the *Śiva-dharma* (of which we have

¹ In analysing this unpublished work we have chiefly used Ms. No. G. 3852 preserved in the Library of the Asiatic Society, Calcutta. This Ms. is written on palm-leaf in Newari characters 'of the twelfth century' A. D., and consists of the following six works on Śaivism : (1) *Śiva-dharma*, (2) *Śiva-dharmottara*, (3) *Śiva-dharma-saṅgraha*, (4) *Umā-maheśvara-saṃvāda*, (5) *Śivopaniṣad*, and (6) *Uttarottara-tantra*.

For further information about this Ms. see Haraprasad Shastri, *Descriptive Catalogue of Sanskrit Manuscripts in the Government Collection under the care of the Asiatic Society of Bengal* (hereinafter referred to as 'Shastri, *ASB Cat.*'), Vol. V, No. 4085, pp. 723-744.

For other Mss. of the *Śiva-dharmottara* see

(i) Shastri, *ASB Cat.*, V, No. 4084, pp. 718-723 (Ms. No. G. 4077, which is written on palm-leaf in Newari script and contains nine different works on Śaivism, of which the first six are the same as those in Ms. No. G. 3852 already mentioned, the seventh is the *Vṛṣa-sāra-saṅgraha*, and the last two are both named *Lalita-vistara*. In this Ms. the eighth work, called *Lalita-vistara*, contains a post-colophon statement, which informs us that one 'Kula-putra-Ratna-simha' copied it in 'संवत् ५६८' (i.e., Newari year 156 = 1036 A.D.) during the victorious reign (vijaya-rāje) of 'Parama-bhaṭṭāraka-mahārājādhirāja-parameśvara-śrī-Lakṣmī-kāma-deva'.

(ii) Haraprasad Shastri, *Catalogue of Palm-leaf and Selected Paper Manuscripts belonging to the Durbar Library, Nepal*, p. 92, No. 36 (complete in 12 chapters; written in Newari script).

(iii) *Catalogue of Sanskrit Manuscripts in the Adyar Library*, Part I, p. 158, Ms. No. 30 C 20 ३३२ (written in Āndhra script).

(iv) M. Winternitz, *Catalogue of South Indian Sanskrit Manuscripts (especially those of the Whish Collection) belonging to the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland* (London, 1902), No. 156 (Whish No. 162), p. 214 (a palm-leaf Ms. complete in 12 chapters and written in Mālayalam of the 17th or 18th century A.D.).

(v) P. P. S. Sastri, *Descriptive Catalogue of the Sanskrit Mss. in the Tanjore Mahārāja Serfoji's Sarasvatī Mahāl Library* (Tanjore), Vol. XV, p. 7156, Nos. 10555-6 (complete in 12 chapters and written in Devanāgarī script).

(vi) A. C. Burnell, *Classified Index to the Sanskrit Manuscripts in the Palace at Tanjore* (London, 1880), p. 195 (complete in 12 chapters; written in Devanāgarī).

(vii) R. L. Mitra, *Notices of Sanskrit Manuscripts*, VI, pp. 272-4, No. 2208 (containing the *Śiva-dharma* and the *Śiva-dharmottara*; written in Bengali script).

said 'elsewhere²) it is a short manual of religious rites and duties meant exclusively for the Śiva-worshippers. It consists of twelve chapters but is a little more extensive than the *Śiva-dharma*, of which it is said to form the latter part. According to a statement made in its concluding chapter, this work was originally spoken out by Kumāra to the sage Agastī in 12000 verses dealing with Karma-yoga, Jñāna-yoga, and the nature of Dharma and Adharma, and, after fully comprehending its contents, Agastī spoke out its essence briefly in twelve chapters.³ It should be mentioned here that of this revised work, which has come down to us in Mss., Chap. 9 is composed mostly in prose.

The *Śiva-dharmottara* calls itself a 'Śāstra' or 'Āgama' on several occasions⁴ but not a 'Purāṇa' or 'Upapurāṇa'

(viii) G. Bühler, *Detailed Report of a Tour in Search of Sanskrit Mss. made in Kashmir, Rajputana and Central India* (JBBRAS, Extra Number, 1877), p. vii.

For small treatises claiming to belong to the *Śiva-dharmottara* see

(i) Shastri, *ASB Cat.*, V, p. 830, No. 4174A, Ms. No. G. 5628 (written in 'Uḍiyā of the nineteenth century' and dealing with Vratas).

(ii) A. B. Keith, *Catalogue of the Sanskrit and Prakrit Mss. in the Library of the India Office* (London), II, ii, p. 1000 (a section on Umā-maheśvara-vrata).

² For our article on the *Śiva-dharma* see *Journal of the Ganganatha Jha Research Institute* (Allahabad), X, 1952-53, pp. 1-20.

³ The relevant verses are the following :

uktam dvādaśa-sāhasrī (?° sraṃ) śivadharmottaram mahat/
agastaye munīndrāya kumāreṇa mahātmanā/
itiha karma-yogasya jñāna-yogasya tattvataḥ/
dharmādharma-gatīnām ca svarūpam upavarṇitam/
ity etad akhilam buddhvā saṃkṣīpy-āgastir abravīt/
dvādaś-ādhyāya-samyuktam iti saram vimuktidam/
śivadharmottaram śāstram * * * *

Chap. 12 (fol. 88a).

⁴ See, for instance, the following lines :

'śivadharmottaram nāma śāstram īśvara-bhāṣitam'—Chap. 1 (fol. 40b);

'athā dharmāḥ śivenoktāḥ śivadharmāgamottare'—Chap. 5 (fol. 53b);

'śivadharmottaram śāstram vācayed yaḥ śrīṇoti ca'—Chap. 12 (fol. 88a).

In a second place in Chap. 12 (fol. 88a) the name '*Śiva-dharma-śāstra*' occurs; and in the line which follows the colophon of Chap. 12, the work has been called '*Śivadharmottara-śāstra*'.

even once; it has none of the Purāṇic characteristics, and its name does not occur in any of the numerous lists of eighteen Upapurāṇas⁵ known to us. Yet it came to be recognised as an Upapurāṇa, probably because of its title which connects it with the *Śiva-dharma* as the latter part of that work.

Beginning with a salutation to Śiva, called Hara, who bears on his head a crescent moon, has around his neck a snake and a garland of white skulls, and carries in his hand a trident with which he pierced the demons, the *Śiva-dharmottara* states that as Skanda⁶ had heard the various kinds of Dharma (religious duty) described by Śiva to Devī, Agastī requested him to speak 'briefly' (saṁkṣepāt) on 'Śiva-dharma' (religious rites and duties relating to Śiva) including Līṅga-worship, donation especially of books (vidyā-dāna), performance of various pious acts which entitle people to practise Śaiva Yoga, performance of the five Great sacrifices (mahāyajña), viz., Karmayajña, Tapo-yajña, Svādhyāya-yajña, Dhyāna-yajña and jñāna-yajña, signs of pious men and sinners, and so on. Consequently, Skanda spoke out the Śāstra named *Śiva-dharmottara* (which was originally) proclaimed by Īśvara (i.e. Śiva)⁷.

Thus, laying claim to a divine origin and introducing its contents in the first fifteen verses, the *Śiva-dharmottara* goes on to describe the religious duties to Śiva. It praises Śraddhā (faith) as the first principle of

⁵ For these lists see my article in *Annals of the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute*, XXI, 1940, pp. 38ff. See also *Padma-purāṇa*, Pātākhanda, 111. 94b-98; and *Vindhyā-māhātmya* (claiming to belong to the *Brhad-aśvanasa-upapurāṇa*). chap. 4 (Shastri, *ASB Cat*, V, pp. 745-6, No. 4086, Ms. No. G. 8091, fol. 8a).

⁶ He is also mentioned in this work under the names of Kumāra and Mahāsena and is said to be a son of Śaṅkara, an annihilator of the enemies of gods, and the possessor of knowledge and power (jñānaśakti-dhara).—See verse 2 of Chap. 1.

⁷ For the relevant line see foot-note 4 above.

life and as the best type of Tapas (austerity), and stresses upon its importance in the apprehension of the subtle (sūkṣma) Dharma which leads to final release. It lays down the characteristic features of a Mantra (which is to consist of only a few syllables, to be easy of pronunciation, to have great significance, to be capable of leading to final liberation, and so on), and praises the six-syllabled Mantra 'om namaḥ śivāya', which is said to be the seed (bija) or essence of all sciences (sarva-vidyānām) and to be expressive of Śiva described as 'pañca-brahma-tanu' and the cause of liberation. According to it, "the six-syllabled Mantra remains in both the Veda and the Śiva-gama [and] in the mouth of the good, and among the people [at large] it is remembered as consisting of five syllables."⁸

By way of praising faith in the words of Śiva and glorifying a spiritual guide who explains and preaches these words, the *Śiva-dharmottara* enjoins upon the Śaiva teachers the highly important duty of imparting instructions on Śiva-dharma to kings as well as commoners. The former are to be convinced by means of 'the eight-limbed discourse' (aṣṭāṅga-vādena) on Śiva and to be won over first to the practice of Śiva-dharma and then gradually to (Śaiva) Jñāna-yoga; and a wise Śaiva who can enlighten a king given to sensual pleasures and acquisition of wealth and win him over to Śiva-dharma and Jñāna-yoga, is said to be known and respected as a universal teacher (jagad-guru)⁹. A king, in his turn, who, being himself attracted

⁸ *Śiva-dharmottara*, Chap. 1 (fol. 41b)—

vede śivāgame vāyam ubhayatra ṣaḍ-akṣaraḥ/
mantraḥ sthitaḥ satām vaktre loke pañcākṣaraḥ smṛtaḥ//

⁹ *Ibid.*, Chap. 1 (fol. 42a)—

mantra-śādhī-nidhi-kṣetra-bīla-mūla-rasa-kriyāḥ/
dharma-mārg-āvatāraya vādo 'ṣṭāṅgaḥ prakīrtitaḥ//
pratyaṅgy-āṣṭāṅga-vādena kāmārth-ābhiraṭaṁ nṛpaṁ/
śāstrī dharma-niyanjita jñāna-yoge punaḥ kramāt//
evaṁ yaḥ sarva-yatnena rājānaṁ bodhayed budhaḥ/
jagad-guruḥ sa vijñeayaḥ sarva-lok-ānukampakaḥ//

to Śiva-worship, encourages his subjects and other kings to practise Śiva-dharma, is said to be able to enjoy the various benefits accruing from this pious acts. As to the method of spreading Śiva-dharma among the common people the *Śiva-dharmottara* says that the Śaiva teachers are to propagate his Dharma among them by terrifying or tempting the illiterate and by influencing the greedy by means of spells, medicines, mystic rites, etc.¹⁰

After devoting a good number of verses to the praise of imparting instructions to kings, the *Śiva-dharmottara* distinguishes between good and bad speech, saying that those words which, though sweet and polished, excite passion, hatred, anger, and similar other feelings and thus cause rebirths and lead to hell by creating, nescience, are really bad and vulgar, but fine words are those which, in spite of their being unattractive, create virtue, and destroy passion and other feelings which cause bondage.¹¹ As to the necessity of the study of Śāstras in life the *Śiva-dharmottara* says :

“The Purāṇa, the Bhārata, the Vedas, and the highly extensive Śāstras—all these are destructive of longevity, [because] Dharma [to be derived from them] is scanty, [whereas] there is a [great] extent and multiplicity of works.

“The great burden of sons, wives, etc. to perfectly infatuated persons, and that of Śāstras to learned people,-

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, Chap. 2 (fol. 42a)—

upāyena bhayāl lobhāt mūrkhān sadānubodhayet/
mantr-auśadhi-kriy-ādyair vā lubdhān dharme nivṛṣayet //

¹¹ *Ibid.*, Chap. 2 (fol. 42a)—

rāga-dveṣānṛta-krodha-kāma-tṛṣṇānusāri yat /
vākyam niraya-hetutvāt tad durbhāṣitam ūcṣyate //
saṃskṛtenāpi kiṃ tena mṛdunā lalitena ca /
avidyā-rāga-vākyena saṃsāra-kleṣa-hetunā //
yac chrutvā jāyate puṇyam rāgādinām ca saṃkṣayaḥ /
virūpam api tad vākyam vijñeyam ati-śobhanam //

both of these are harmful to the practice of [really] beneficial Yoga.

"One who wants to know everything, thinking 'This has to be known', 'This has to be known', does not get to the end of Śāstras, even though he may have a life of a thousand years.

"(So,) knowing the 'Akṣara-tanmātra' and the life to be extremely fickle, one should set aside the multitudes of Śāstras and perform works beneficial in the next world.

"What is the good of a scholar and an able-bodied person who are incapable of bearing the burden of virtue beneficial in the next world?

"A person, who is unable to deliver his own self from rebirths, is a fool, even though he may be a scholar, and lacks strength, even though he may be [physically] strong."¹²

The *Śiva-dharmottara* allows the Śaiva teachers to use Sanskrit, Prakrit or any of the local dialects as a medium of religious instruction.¹³ It extols a Śaiva teacher and

¹² *Ibid.*, Chap. 1 (fol. 42a-b)—

purāṇaṃ bhāratam vedāḥ śāstrāṇi sumahānti ca /
 āyusaḥ kṣayaṇāḥ sarve dharmolpo grantha-vistaraḥ /
 putra-dārādi-sambhāraḥ puṃsām saṃmūḍha-cetasām /
 viduṣām śāstra-sambhāraḥ sad-yogābhyāsa-vighna-kṛt //
 idaṃ jñeyam idaṃ jñeyam yaḥ sarvaṃ jñātum icchati /
 api varṣa-sahasrāyuh śāstrāntam nādhigacchati //
 vijñāyākṣara-tanmātram jivitaṃ cāticañcalam /
 vīhāya śāstra-jālāni pāralaukikam ācaret //
 paṇḍitenāpi kiṃ tena samarthena ca dehina /
 yaḥ puṇya-bhāram udvodhum aśaktaḥ pāralaukikam //
 paṇḍito 'pi sa mūrkhah syāc chakti-yukto 'py aśaktimān /
 yaḥ saṃsārāt svam ātmānam uttārayitum akṣamaḥ //

¹³ *Ibid.*, Chap. 2 (fol. 43a)—

saṃskṛtaiḥ prākṛtaiḥ vākyaḥ yaḥ śiṣyam anurūpataḥ /
 deśa-bhāṣādy-upāyaḥ ca bodhayet sa guruḥ smṛtaḥ //

The words 'saṃskṛtaiḥ prākṛtaiḥ vākyaḥ' may also be taken to mean 'polished or unrefined language'.

calls him 'Vidyā-parameśvara' (the supreme master of learning) who, being intimate with the meanings of Śaiva-tantras, restores the correct texts of Śaiva works made defective by time or spoiled by bad scribes and inefficient teachers in various ways, viz., by leaving out syllables or inserting new ones during copying, by wrongly reading a text, by making arbitrary changes in the text by way of correction, by separately reading the different members of a compound word, by reading the text in such a way as to create contradiction in sense or to give no sense at all, by creating serious metrical defects, and so on.¹⁴ It then gives a detailed description of the method which is to be followed by the rich in giving away manuscripts of Śaiva scriptures copied by themselves or by scribes. According to this method, the donor has to worship Śiva, the Śaiva scripture to be copied for donation, and his spiritual guide. Next, he has to select a suitable place, in which a circular or quadrangular Vidyā-maṇḍalā (i.e., a sacred piece of ground meant for keeping the book to be given away) of eight or four cubits is to be prepared with scented water mixed with cow-dung, and a lotus (padma) is to be painted in this Maṇḍala with white powder. Outside the lotus the Maṇḍala has to be decorated with paintings of different hues and with flowers of five colours; and a white or variegated canopy is to be spread over it.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, Chap. 2 (fol. 43b)—

śiva-jñānasya kālena vinaṣṭasya pramādataḥ /
 ūnātirikta-varṇasya mūḍhair durlikhitasya ca //
 pramādādhīta-pāṭhasya nāśitasyālpa-buddhibhiḥ /
 jñānāvalepa-mānāndhair ācāryaiḥ śodhītasya ca //
 vyastaiḥ padair upetasya punar-ūktasya cārthataḥ /
 pūrvottara-viruddhasya sva-siddhānta-virodhīnaḥ //
 chandasātīva-naṣṭasya śabdārtha-rahitasya ca /
 ity evam-ādibhir doṣair upetasya kvacit. kvacit //
 yaḥ karoti punaḥ samyak saṁskāraṁ pūryavad guruḥ /
 śiva-tantrārtha-vid dhīmān sa vidyā-parameśvaraḥ //

This canopy is to be set with pearls and small bells and decorated with hanging threads, pearl-necklaces, balls (kanduka), etc. The four posts, supporting the canopy, are to be covered with coloured cloth; and there should be four pitchers strewn over with white lotuses and earthen dishes containing germinating barley and Śāli grains. An ivory throne, worked with gold and gems, is to be placed and worshipped, and on this throne the holy book, from which the copy is to be made, and the leaves, which are to be used in preparing this copy, are to be kept and worshipped with the offer of flowers, incense, etc. Then, after worshipping his spiritual guide and having his permission, the donor is to take his bath, decorate himself, and begin to prepare the copy by writing five verses at first. He is then to feed his spiritual guide, and also Brāhmaṇas, beggars, invalids and others, to ask his spiritual guide's pardon, to take his meal, and to make offerings to Gaṇas at night. Next morning, a small Vidyā-maṇḍala of two cubits is to be painted with various hues, decorated with flowers, shallow earthen dishes (śarāva) containing germinating barley grains, etc., and covered with a canopy. The book, to be used as the original, is to be brought down from the throne, placed on a special stool called Śara-yantra, and worshipped. Thus, every day, after worshipping the holy book, the work of copying is to be continued, the script used being Nandi-nāgara as described in the following verses :

“catur-asraiḥ śama-śīrṣair nātiśthūlair na vā kṛśaiḥ /
 śaṃpūrṇāvayavaiḥ snigdhair nātivicchinnā-saṃhataiḥ //
 mātṛānusrvāra-saṃyogāḥ [?°ga-] hrasva-dīrghādi-
 lakṣitaiḥ /
 nāndi-nāgarakair varṇair lekhaḥyec chīva-pustakam”¹⁵ //

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, Chap. 2 (fol. 44a).

The fourth line is the same as *Devī-purāṇa* (Vaṅgavāsī Press ed.)
 91. 53a.

After the copy is completed, the donor is to observe fast, worship Śiva, Agni, the religious teacher, and the newly written manuscript, and keep awake at night with various diversions such as the sounding of drums and other musical instruments, singing of songs, performance of dance, narration of stories of Śiva, recitation of Vedic texts, exhibition of attractive shows and playful performances (prekṣaṇakaiś ca śobhanaiḥ, krīḍāyatta-prayogādyaiḥ), and so on. In the following morning a beautiful Vimāna (car, conveyance) is to be constructed with wood and bamboos and covered with a piece of coloured cloth, and the Śaiva work (śiva-jñānasya pustakam) is to be placed in it together with the stool. This book is to be decorated with paintings, furnished with leather at the side, and tied tightly with a piece of strong thread.¹⁶ The Vimāna, with the holy book in it, is to be taken to a Śivāśrama in a chariot. Or, it may be carried there either by strong men or by an elephant, and on its way to the Āśrama it should be taken round the city in a big procession led by the king and attended with songs of females (strī-saṅgītaiḥ). The persons joining the procession should include wandering singers, professional bards, Brāhmaṇas loudly citing Vedic hymns, and females carrying beautiful chowries and singing songs. While the book is thus carried to the Āśrama, offerings are to be made in all directions and at every step. On this occasion the citizens are to clothe themselves in white, their houses are to be decorated with flags, Brāhmaṇas are to be fed by householders, no harm is to be done to anybody, not even to trees, enemies, imprisoned through rage, are to be released,¹⁷ and the Kaumudī (Mahotsava), though out of time, is to be observed for two days in every house.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, Chap. 2 (fol. 44b)—
pārśve carma-samāyuktaṃ dṛḍha-sūtra-nibandhanam.

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, Chap. 2 (fol. 44b)—
bandhanasthās ca mokṣavyā baddhāḥ krodhena śatṛavaḥ.

After the book has thus been taken to the Śivāśrama, it is to be kept before the image of Śiva in a sanctified place and offered to the Śaiva teacher (guru). For averting evils (śāntyārtha) of cows, Brāhmaṇas, kings, country-folk and townspeople, a chapter of this work is to be read out by a good reader, who is to have thorough knowledge of metres, to be a good poet, to have a sweet voice, to know the science of music, and to be a cultured man (vidagdha). The teacher, receiving the work, is to sprinkle the king and other persons present there with the water meant for averting evils, and to mean peace to the whole world. After feeding his teacher and paying honorarium to him, the king is to dine with his attendants and the females of the harem, and the dinner is to be followed by various shows.¹⁸

The copy of the Śaiva work, received by the Śaiva teacher, is to be kept in a Vidyā-koṣa-gr̥ha made with cloth, and for this Vidyā-koṣa-gr̥ha, a Vidyāyatana, eight cubits in length, is to be constructed with stone, bricks, earth or wood and furnished with doors, doorpanels, bolts, walls, gardens, flags, canopy, bells, chowries, etc. In this Vidyāyatana the casket containing the holy book (vidyā-karaṇḍaka)¹⁹ is to be placed with ceremony; and the book is to be worshipped thrice daily like Śiva himself.

In connection with the donation of manuscripts the *Śiva-dharmottara* gives details of the construction of a highly beautiful, three or four-storied house (pura) or monastery (maṭha) called Śivāśrama (hermitage of Śiva) and

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, Chap. 2 (fol. 25a)—

kāryā ca viividhā prekṣā bhuktavatsu janeṣu ca.

¹⁹ This casket, which is to be made of gold, silver, copper, bell-metal, iron, wood, bamboo, etc. and to have a lid (pidhāna), has other peculiarities as mentioned in the verse:

śarvāśma-katakopetaṃ dr̥ḍha-sūtra-nibandhanam /

Ruryāt tālaka-samyuktaṃ vidyā-ratna-karaṇḍakam //

Chap. 2 (fol. 46a).

meant for Śiva and his worshippers. This house or monastery, which is to be built on a plinth having a height of two cubits and also pillars at the sides, is to be furnished with small but beautiful caves (or cubicles) meant for those who have given themselves up to the acquirement of knowledge of Śiva. It is to have a big kitchen in the south-east with an outlet for smoke, a sacrificial hall in the east, a room for incense and flowers in the north-east, a store-room (bhāṇḍāgāra) in the north, a granary (koṣṭhāgāra) in the north-west, and a bath-room in the west with windows. In the south-west there should be a room for fuel, sacrificial wood, Kuśa grass and weapons, and in the south there should be a safe and pleasant room meant for guests and furnished with bed, seats, foot-wears, water, fire, lamps and good servants. The intervals between the different rooms are to be decorated with groups of water-banana plants and with flowers of five hues; and outside the wall surrounding the entire mansion, there should be a good and well-arranged flower-garden, around which there should be another big outer-wall furnished with gates and door panels and surrounded by a ditch.²⁰ Above the third

²⁰ The relevant verses of the *Śiva-dharmottara* (Chap. 2, fols. 46b-47a) are the following :

yaḥ kārayet mahāramyaṃ suvedi-samsthitaṃ puraṃ /
 pañca-bhaumaṃ tri-bhaumaṃ vā śiva-jñāna-ratātmanāṃ //
 guhā-pravarakair yuktaṃ maitra-sthāna-samanvitam /
 vāstu-vidyā-vibhaktam ca prākāra-parivāritaṃ //
 tasya vedī dvi-hastocā paryanta-stambha-saṃyutā /
 pakṣ (pakv) eṣṭakā-paricchinā tat suramyāṃ bhraṃantaṃ //
 suvithyāḥ purataḥ kāryaṃ diśy āgneyyāṃ mahānasaṃ /
 dhūma-nirgamanopetaṃ pūrvataḥ sātra-maṇḍapaṃ //
 gandha-puṣpa-grhaṃ kāryaṃ aiśānyāṃ paṭa-saṃyutam /
 bhāṇḍāgāraṃ ca kauveryāṃ koṣṭhāgāraṃ cā vāyave //
 udakāśrayaṃ ca vāruṇyāṃ vātāyana-samanvitam /
 samit-kuśendhana-sthānaṃ āyudhāṇāṃ ca nairṛte //
 abhyāgatābhayaṃ ramyaṃ sayyāsana-sapāḍukam /
 toyāgni-dipa-sadbhṛtyair yuktaṃ dakṣiṇato bhavet //

story there should be a beautifully painted lecture-hall (vidyā-vyākhyāna-maṇḍapa) with a Vidyā-maṇḍala in it and with windows and outlets; and in the uppermost story (?) a room (vaḍabhī-gṛha), six or eight cubits in length, is to be made with beautiful cloth, and, after the ceremony of consecration of the Śivāśrama is over, an earthen, wooden or stone image of Nakuliśvara Śiva is to be established in this Vaḍabhī-gṛha with due worship. According to the *Śiva-dharmottara* this Nakuliśvara Śiva is the creator (or ordainer) of all the Sciences (vidyā); he is omniscient and is surrounded by his disciples and grand-disciples; he has one of his hands raised in explaining the Śāstras and is seated in a particular posture called Padmāsana; he is very white, has a pleased countenance, and is a teacher²¹.

The Śivāśrama, thus constructed, is to be provided with temple-girls (śivāyatana-yoṣitaḥ) called 'Rudra-gaṇikās' (harlots or female Gaṇas of Rudra), who may have wilfully accepted that position in life, or who may have been presented there by somebody, or purchased for the

gṛhāntarāṇi sarvāṇi jalajaiḥ kadali-gṛhaiḥ /
 pañca-varṇaiś ca kusumaiḥ śobhitāni prakalpayet //
 prākārāntarabahir dadyāt pañca-hasta-pramāṇataḥ /
 prākārācca bahiḥ kuryāt sarva-dikṣu samantataḥ //
 divyaṃ śivāśramārāmaṃ nānā-puṣpopaśobhitam /
 saryartuka-guṇopetaṃ nānā-vṛkṣa-samanvitam //

* * * * *

sthāna-vinyāsa-racitaiḥ sanmārgādhāra-saṃyutaiḥ /
 puṣpair bahu-vicṛṇair yuktaṃ dig-vidikṣu jalānvitam //
 * * * * *

²¹ *Śiva-dharmottara*, Chap. 2 (fol. 47a)—

tṛtīyācca purād ūrdhvaṃ vidyā-vyākhyāna-maṇḍapaṃ /
 gavākṣa-nirgamopetaṃ vicitraṃ parikalpayet //
 pūrārdhaṃ pañcanāṃ kāṣyaṃ śivasya vaḍabhī-gṛhaṃ /
 ṣaḍ-hastaṃ aṣṭa-dīrghaṃ vā cāru-paṭṭa-vinirmitaṃ //

purpose, or compelled to be so as a sort of punishment, or reduced to that state per force; and the descendants of these Rudra-gaṇikās are said to attain heaven after death by dint of their mothers' virtues.²²

Going to describe the religious duties to Śiva (śiva-dharma),²³ for which it is exclusively meant, the *Śiva-dharmottara* speaks of their ten constituent parts (skandha), viz., abstention from killing or giving pain to others, toleration, truthfulness, modesty, devotion, control of the organs of senses, munificence, performance of sacrifice, muttering (of the Mantra), and meditation, and says that the nature of enjoyment is determined by the virtue earned by the practice of Śiva-dharma.²⁴ It mentions the five great sacrifices (pañca mahāyajña), of which Karma-yajña is said to consist of worship, sacrificial rites, etc., Tapo-yajña, of austere practices such as Cāndrāyaṇa, Svādhyāya-yajña, of the repetition of the Śiva-mantra, Dhyāna-yajña, of the incessant thinking of Śiva, and Jñāna-yajña, of teaching, studying, explaining, hearing and thinking of Śaiva scriptures. According to this work, worship (pūjā) yields nothing more than a great kingdom, and the cult of Fire (agni-kārya) leads one to prosperity; so, Karma-yajña is much inferior to Tapo-yajña, which, in its turn, is far excelled in efficacy by Svādhyāya-yajña which frees one from sins. Dhyāna-yajña and Jñāna-yajña, which

²² *Ibid.*, Chap. 2 (fol. 47b)—

dattāḥ kritāḥ pravīṣṭāś ca daṇḍotpannā balāt kṛtāḥ /
vijñeyā rudra-gaṇikāḥ śivāyatana-yoṣitaḥ //
yā rudra-gaṇikotpannā putra-pautrādi-santatiḥ /
sāpi yāti mṛtā svarge mātur evānubhāvataḥ //
tatra mṛd-dāru-śailaṃ vā sthāpayed vidhivac chivam /
sarva-vidyā-vidhātāraṃ sarvajñaṃ lakuliśvaram //
vṛtaṃ śiṣya-prasiṣyais ca vyākhyānodyata-pāṇikam /
padmāsanasthaṃ suśvetaṃ praśanna-vadanaṃ gūrūṃ //

²³ See *ibid.*, Chap. 3 (fols. 49a—50a). Also Chap. 5 (fols. 53b-54a).

²⁴ *Ibid.*, Chap. 5 (fols. 53b-54a).

constitute Śiva-yoga, are together capable of yielding final emancipation; but Jñāna cannot be attained without the practice of Yoga. It is only by the practice of Yoga after getting away from all kinds of attachment to objects of senses that one can attain Jñāna which causes tranquility of mind, undisturbed concentration on god, and immunity from Upādhis. Ajñāna, on the other hand, is the cause of bondage and rebirth and, consequently, of untold suffering and misery in life. It can be destroyed not by Karman but by Jñāna²⁵ which puts a stop to all kinds of attachment to worldly objects and thus makes one go beyond the domains of virtue and vice. "A successful Yogin, who has been satiated by the nectar of Jñāna, has no duty; but if he has any, he has not known the Truth."²⁶ "Just as one, furnished with the power of spells, is not bitten by snakes when playing with them, so also a Jñānin, though playing with the snakes in the forms of the organs of senses, is not bitten by them. As a poison, taken [by one], is assimilated through the power of spells and herbs, so also the sinful acts of those possessing Jñāna are digested (i.e., made ineffective) immediately [after these are done by them]."²⁷ As a matter of fact, "neither the holy places full of water nor the gods made of stone or earth reach those Yogins who have realised their own Self."²⁸ One, who realises

²⁵ *Ibid.*, Chap. 3 (fol. 49b).—

jñānena ca tad ajñānam nivarteta na karmabhiḥ.

²⁶ *Ibid.*, Chap. 3 (fol. 49b).—

jñānāmṛtena tṛptasya kṛta-kṛtyasya yoginaḥ /
naivāsti kiñcit kartavyam asti cenna sa tattvavit //

²⁷ *Ibid.*, Chap. 3 (fol. 50a).—

yadvat mañtra-balopetaḥ kṛdān sarpair na daśyate /
kṛdān na daśyate jñāni tadvad indriya-pannagaiḥ //
mantraśadhi-balair yadvaj jīryate bhakṣitaṁ viṣam /
tadvat pāpāni karmāni jīryante jñānināṁ kṣaṇāt //

²⁸ *Ibid.*, Chap. 3 (fol. 50a).—

tīrthāni tṛya-pūrṇāni devāḥ pāśāṇa-mṛṇmayāḥ /
yoginā na prapādyante svātma-pratyaya-kāriṇaḥ //

Śaṁkara as omnipresent, finds him in his Ātman. "Persons failing to realise Śiva in their own Ātman search for him in a holy place".²⁹ "To those who are given to work the gods are in Fire, to the talented (sages) they are in heaven, to the unenlightened they are in images, and to the Yogins they are in their Ātman. The Yogins find Śiva in their Ātman and not in images. Due to Ajñāna, an image is worshipped for inspiring thought. One, who forsakes Śiva residing in his Ātman and worships the deity remaining outside, licks his elbow by leaving off the lump of food in his own hand."³⁰ So, people should try to experience the deity in their own Ātman, and for this purpose they should study the highly effective but least tiresome (works on) knowledge of Śiva in preference to the Vedas whose results are not directly perceived.³¹ These people should also practise the faultless and liberating Śiva-yoga by giving up the austerities which are difficult to practise and all sacrificial rites which are troublesome and yield scanty result.³²

It has already been said that the *Śiva-dharmottara* subordinates Karma-yoga to Jñāna-yoga. As a matter

²⁹ *Ibid.*, Chap. 3 (fol. 50b)—

ātmaśtaṁ ye na paśyanti tīrthe mārganti te śivam.

³⁰ *Ibid.*, Chap. 3 (fol. 50b)—

agnau kriyāvatām devā divi devā maṇiṣṇām/
pratimāsv aprabuddhānām yoginām ātmani sthitā //
śivam ātmani paśyanti pratimāsu na yoginaḥ //
ajñānād bhāvanārthāya pratimā paripūjitā //
ātmaśtaṁ yaḥ śivam tyaktvā bahiḥsthaṁ yajate śivam /
haste piṇḍam samutsṛjya lihet kūrparam ātmanah //

³¹ See *ibid.*, Chap. 3 (fol. 50b)—

satyām āgama-vārtāyām apratyakṣe ca tat-phale /
adhyeyam aiśvaram jñānam alpa-kleśam mahāphalam //

³² See *ibid.*, Chap. 3 (fol. 50b)—

evam hi kaṣṭhāni tapāmsi yajñān kleśātmakān alpa-phala-pra-
dāms ca /
saṁtyajya sarvān śiva-yogam ekam dhyāyet param muktikaram
viśuddham //

of fact, it regards the (Vedic) fire-cult as yielding unstable results³³, and discourages people from practising austerities and performing the Vedic sacrificial rites. Even as regards Rudra-worship³⁴ it does not entertain any high opinion, inasmuch as it says that people attain different regions (such as those of Piśācas, Rākṣasas, etc.) by worshipping Rudra in different ways. For instance, a worshipper is said to be able to go to the Yakṣa-loka by worshipping Rudra thrice a day with the intention of taking wine and meat (*madyamāṃsāturāḥ*), to the Gandharva-loka by worshipping him three or four times daily with song and dance, to the Indra-loka by worshipping him five times a day, to the Prājāpatya-loka by worshipping him six times daily with a passionate mind (*kāmāsakta citta*), to the Soma-loka by worshipping him seven times a day, to the Brahma-loka by worshipping him eight times a day with the Gāyatrī, to the Viṣṇu-loka by worshipping him nine times a day, and even to the Rudra-loka (also called Śiva-pura), which is situated above Viṣṇu-pura and meant for those who are given to Karma-yoga, without making much effort. The *Śiva-dharmottara* further tells us that above Śiva-pura there are three excellent regions (*sthāna-trayaṃ param*) of Skanda, Umā and Śaṃkara,³⁵ the last occupying the highest

³³ Cf. *ibid.*, Chap. 3 (fol. 51a)—

tasmāt svagnīyam utsrjya karma-yogam aśāśvatam /
dhyāyen nityaṃ viśuddhaṃ ca jñāna-yogam anuttamam //

³⁴ See *ibid.*, Chap. 5 (fol. 54a-b).

³⁵ These three deities have been described as follows :

skandaṃ śaktidharaṃ śāntaṃ śaḍ-mukhaṃ śikhi-vāharaṃ /
tapta-cāmikara-prakhyam tri-śikhaṃ bāla-rūpiṇam //
prabhābhīr bhāṣita-tanuṃ sarva-lokānukampakam /
dhyāyamānaḥ prasannātmā guha-sthānam avāpnuyāt //
kanyā-rūpāṃ umāṃ śāntāṃ sūrya-koṭi-sama-prabhām /
dhyāyamānaḥ sadā bhaktyā devyāḥ sthānam avāpuzyāt //
śuddha-sphaṭika-saṃkāśaṃ jaṭā-mukuṭa-dhārīṇam /
try-aṅgaṃ catur-bhujam śāntam akṣa-mālā-dharaṃ haram //
vāradābhaya-hastam ca trīśūlāsakta-pāṇikam /
dhyāyamānaḥ śivam nityam śiva-sthānam avāpnuyāt //

Śiva-dharmottara, Chap. 5 (fol. 54b).

position and being the only place where rebirth is unknown.

Among other topics of interest the *Śiva-dharmottara* mentions the establishment of hospitals (ārogya-śālā)³⁶ and poor-houses (anātha-maṇḍapa)³⁷ and the free distribution of medicine among the diseased (ārtauśadhi-dāna).³⁸ The hospitals are to be fully equipped (sarvopakaraṇopetā) and attended by great physicians (mahāvaidya-samanvitā). In connection with the method of Śiva-worship this work says⁹ that in the Go-māṭṛ-loka or Go-loka (the region of Cows, which is the same as Śiva-pura or Śiva-loka) there are five divine Cows named Mandā,⁴⁰ Subhadra, Surabhi, Suśilā and Sumanas, who came out of the churned ocean and are the mothers of the whole world (sarvalokasya mātaraḥ). It is further said that from these five Cows, who came down to the earth from Śiva-pura descended all the cows on earth; from their dung originated all kinds of lotus-seeds as well as the Bilva tree, in which Śrī (Lakṣmī) resides permanently; their urine was the source of origin of the fragrant gum resin; the seed of the world (jagad-bīja) came out of their milk; and nectar originated from ghee.

Besides the subjects mentioned above the *Śiva-dharmottara* deals with the following topics :

Method of Śiva-worship⁴¹ which includes the following operations :—bathing the deity with ghee, milk and curd, which, being derived from cows, are highly sanctifying; offer of Bilva-leaves, red and blue lotuses, etc., and then of various kinds of delicious food including meat

³⁶ *Ibid.*, Chap. 2 (fol. 48a).

³⁷⁻³⁸ *Ibid.*, Chap. 7 (fol. 58a).

³⁹ See *ibid.*, Chap. 1 (fol. 42b) and Chap. 12 (fol. 84a).

⁴⁰ In Chap. 1 the name 'Mandrā' (for 'Nandā') occurs.

⁴¹ This method is called 'ṣaḍ-aṅga vidhi' ('six-limbed procedure'). For description of this method see *ibid.*, Chap. 1 (fols. 42b-43a) and Chap. 4 (fols. 51b-52a).

and other things cooked with ghee;⁴² burning of fragrant gum resin after worship; circumambulation and salutation of the deity, and prayer to him for forgiveness. Praise of performing, seeing, hearing or encouraging Śiva-worship.

Praise of giving copies of Śaiva works to students and worthy Śaiva teachers.⁴³

Method of worshipping a Śaiva scripture (Śiva-jñāna-pustaka) on the full-moon day of Vaiśākha or Āśāḍha. (On this occasion all the requisites for preparing a copy are to be worshipped, viz., leaves, thread, ink-pot, pen, stool called Śara-yantra, seat, unguents, bed, good food, the sum to be given as remuneration, and so on.⁴⁴

Praise of presenting a piece of cloth for covering the manuscript as well as a canopy for use at the place where the manuscript is kept and worshipped.⁴⁵

Praise of giving food, clothes, foot-wears, umbrellas, bed, bed-sheets, seats, collyrium, unguents, requisites for bath, feasts, medicine, etc. to those given to the acquisition of knowledge of Śiva (Śiva-jñānābhīyukta).⁴⁶

Results of reading, hearing, etc. of a complete or half verse of a Śaiva scripture.⁴⁷

Procedure of inaugurating a Śaiva monastery (Śivāśrama) and of establishing an image of Śiva in it. (This procedure includes a number of functions, viz., Śivādhi-vāsa, silent recitation of five kinds of Śaiva hymns, Śiva-vijñāpana, etc.).⁴⁸

⁴² For a list of these varieties of food to be offered to Śiva see Chap. 4, fols. 51b-52a. These varieties include the following also; boiled rice with ghee; the same with soup; the same with pungent condiments; Saṣṭika rice, various kinds of Śāli rice (viz., Sugandha-śāli, Rakta-śāli and Kalama-śāli); tasteful condiments; milk with rice; scented drinks; special varieties of fruits; delicious sweets prepared with ghee; various kinds of sweet and fragrant curd prepared with sugar; and so on.

⁴³ Śivādharmottara, Chap. 2 (fols. 43a-45a).

⁴⁴⁻⁴⁶ *Ibid.*, Chap. 2 (fol. 45b).

⁴⁷ *Ibid.*, Chap. 2 (fol. 46a).

⁴⁸ *Ibid.*, Chap. 2 (fol. 47a).

Construction of small rooms in front of a Śiva-temple, each to accommodate one or two Śaivas; furnishing these rooms with coloured circles (called Śiva-maṇḍalāka) containing the figure of a lotus in the middle; and dedication of these rooms to Śiva.⁴⁹

Praise of drawing Maṇḍalas for Śiva, the Śaiva scripture (Vidyā), and the spiritual guide (Guru) and of making a Vidyā-maṇḍapa (i.e., a shed for the scripture) in the lecture-hall (vidyā-vyākhyāna-maṇḍapa).⁵⁰

Praise of offer of food, cooked or not, to Śiva, Agni and Guru.—All kinds of food are to be offered to Śiva first of all; next, Homa is to be performed by throwing a small part of these into the fire; and then a portion is to be offered to the spiritual guide. Observance of this procedure is said to destroy sins arising from cultivation, usury, trade, anger, untruth, and 'the five places of slaughter' (pañca-sūnā). Sins arising out of violation of this procedure.⁵¹

Superiority of Jñāna to vows, donation, austerities, sacrifices, etc.⁵²

Praise of meditating on Śiva.⁵³

Praise of serving Śiva-yogins with food, drink, shelter, bed, clothes, etc.⁵⁴ and of seeing them, speaking with them, and honouring them with food in a Śrāddha ceremony.⁵⁵

Results of neglecting or denouncing Śiva-yogins.⁵⁶

⁴⁹ *Ibid.*, Chap. 2 (fols. 47b-48a)—

kṛtvā su-kṛtīmāṃ bhūmim īśvarāyatanāgrataḥ/
tatra maṇḍalakaṃ kuryāt suvṛttaṃ gomayāmbhasā //
sūtreṇa samitaṃ kṛtvā nānā-varṇaka-śobhitam / ?
vicitra-kusumākīrṇaṃ madhye paṅkoja-śobhitam //
pradipākṣata-samyuktant udakaṃ dharmāya pāṇinā /
mūrdhnā praṇamya medinyāṃ śiṣyā vinivedayet //

⁵⁰ *Ibid.*, Chap. 2 (fol. 48a).

⁵¹ *Ibid.*, Chap. 4 (fol. 51b).

⁵² *Ibid.*, Chap. 2 (fol. 49b).

⁵³ *Ibid.*, Chap. 3 (fols. 50a and 51a).

⁵⁴ *Ibid.*, Chap. 3, (fols. 48b-49a).

⁵⁵⁻⁵⁶ *Ibid.*, Chap. 4 (fols. 52a and 52b, respectively).

The five qualifications of a donor, viz., courtesy, generosity, friendliness, compassion and impartiality. Names of places suitable for making gifts, viz., Vārāṇasī, Kurukṣetra, Prayāga, Puṣkara, Gaṅgā-tīra, Samudra-tīra, Nāimīṣa, Amara-kaṇṭhaka, Śrīparvata, Gokarṇa, Vedaparvata, etc. Suitable time for making gifts, viz., eclipses, winter and summer solstice, etc. Necessity of Śraddhā in making gifts. The five components of Śraddhā.⁵⁷

Nature of Śiva-dharma (which is free from the intention of doing mischief and the feeling of hatred, requires no physical torture or accute effort, is pure, extremely subtle and beneficial to all beings, yields the best results, has many branches all rooted in Śiva, and so on).⁵⁸

Discourses on Adharma (sinful acts), which varies with the inclination of sinners. Classification of Adharma into gross (sthūla), subtle (sūkṣma), super-subtle (su-sūkṣma), etc. Description of Sthūla Adharma, which relates to the mind, speech and body. Four kinds each of mental, verbal and physical Adharma. Various other sinful acts, viz., denouncement and hatred of Śiva and his worshippers; stealing of Śaiva scriptures or of articles offered to Śiva; giving up of Śaiva customs; denouncement or neglect, in any way, of one's spiritual guide; committing of the heinous crimes called Mahāpātaka; committing of sins with respect to the Brāhmaṇas (viz., divulging their serious faults, humiliating them by one's learning, refusing them after inviting to accept gifts, creating obstacles to them when they are hungry, dispossessing them of their property earned by fair means, and so on); giving up of Śiva-jñāna after studying it; forsaking of one's parents as well as of the sacrificial rites

⁵⁷ *Ibid.*, Chap. 4 (fol. 53b).

The components of Śraddhā are as follows :

bhaktir bhāva-parā pritiḥ śiva-dharm-aikatānatā /
pratipattir iti jñeyam śraddhā-paryāya-pañcakam //

⁵⁸ *Ibid.*, Chap. 5 (fol. 53b).

such as the Agnihotra, the five great sacrifices; and so on; killing of innocent animals living in forests; not giving a marriageable daughter in marriage; having sexual union with a son's wife, a friend's wife, a sister, a virgin girl, an Antyaja woman, and so on.⁵⁹

Enumeration of the Upapātakas⁶⁰ committed by the following acts :—refusing a person after promising to give him money; stealing an article belonging to a twice-born man; transgressing the boundary; allowing one's own self to be subject to extreme vanity or rage or to haughtiness, ungratefulness, miserliness, etc.; over-addiction to objects of senses; adultery; marrying before one's elder brother; doing mischief to a Śaiva monastery (śivāśrama) with respect to its trees, inmates, cattle, agricultural products (such as paddy), etc.; selling of one's wife or child; living on one's wife's property; living with a wife who is in the habit of drinking; administering poison, or applying a Yantra (Tantric diagram) for killing a person; performance of Mūla-karmans and Abhicāra with evil purposes⁶¹; teaching people or reading books for fees; breaking of embankments; manufacturing or selling bows, arrows, darts, missiles, etc.; practising cruelty to animals; showing neglect to guests; and so on.

Discourses on Karma-vipāka⁶² (fruition of action), with the mention that the above-mentioned sins of four kinds lead people to the region of Yama, where Citragupta and five other officers act as judges for the actions of all. Results of giving various things (including palanquins, horses, etc.), constructing a temple, or an assylum (prati-

⁵⁹ *Ibid.*, Chap. 6 (fols. 55a-56a).

⁶⁰ *Ibid.*, Chap. 6 (fols. 56a-57a).

⁶¹ *Ibid.*, Chap. 6 (fol. 56b)—

viṣa-māraṇa-yantrāṇām prayogo mūla-karmaṇām /
uccātan-ābhiçāraś ca gara-vidveṣaṇa-kriyā //

⁶² *Ibid.*, Chap. 7 (fols. 58a-59a). Also Chaps. 8, 9.

śrayā), making a garden, dedicating troughs for containing drinking water for animals, and so on.

Description of the city of the God of Death (Vai-vasvatapura)⁶³ and of the way to it, a city, where people of objectionable conduct and miserly habit are taken after death and punished. Description of the affairs of Yama's house. Names and description of hells (Raurava, Mahā-raurava, etc.). Praise of birth as a human being in Bhārata.

Accounts of rebirth (saṃsāra),⁶⁴ with a description of (i) the way in which creatures get different kinds of body according to their actions, (ii) the formation of the body in the mother's womb, (iii) the process of birth, and (iv) the sufferings undergone by creatures after death.

Five causes of death, viz., diseases, weapons, snake-bite, poison, and Abhicāra rites.

Denouncement of money. Need for performance of Dharma; and necessity of penance (prāyaścitta) for a better rebirth.⁶⁵

Discourses on Jñāna-yoga⁶⁶ which reveals Śiva as the only reality and the course of which is to be determined by the Śaiva Āgamas and not merely by one's *apriori* speculation.

Practice of Yoga⁶⁷.—Its four factors—the person meditating, the act of meditation, the object of meditation, and the necessity of meditation. Qualifications for Yoga-practice. Suitable places (which should be very secluded). Conduct of Yogins (who are to be moderate as regards their food, rest, sleep, etc.,⁶⁸ and to look upon Brahmā,

⁶³ *Ibid.*, Chap. 7 (fols. 59a-64b).

⁶⁴ *Ibid.*, Chap. 8 (fols. 65b-70a).

⁶⁵ *Ibid.*, Chap. 9 (fols. 71a-72b).

⁶⁶ *Ibid.*, Chap. 10 (fols. 72b-74a).

⁶⁷ *Ibid.*, Chap. 10 (fols. 74a-78b).

⁶⁸ yuktāhāra-vihārātmā yuktā-ceṣṭena (p°ceṣṭas ca) karmasu /
yukta-svāpnāvabodhaś ca sarvayukta-vivarjitah //

Ibid., Chap. 10 (fol. 74b).

Viṣṇu and other gods as well as upon the diseases, relations and kings as great impediments to Yoga-practices).⁶⁹ Constitution of the seats to be used by Yogins.⁷⁰ Sitting postures (āsana, viz., Padmaka, Svastika, etc., before practising which Śiva, Devī and Gaṇādhipa are to be saluted). Mode of sitting.⁷¹ Method of meditation, which consists of (i) Tri-maṇḍala-dhyāna which helps one get over the three Guṇas-Sattva, Rajas and Tamas, (ii) meditation on the twenty-fifth Tattva, viz., the Puruṣa who is beyond the Guṇas, and (iii) meditation on Śiva (having a figure as small as one's thumb) in the pericarp of a lotus (padma), which is twelve Aṅgulas in diameter, has eight petals, rises from the navel, and remains above the Puruṣa. Different ways of meditating on Śiva in the pericarp, viz., Śiva as Omkāra may be conceived of as consisting of three Mātrās अ, उ and ए represented by Skanda, Devī and Maheśvara, or by Brahmā, Viṣṇu and Maheśvara, or by Vyakta, Avyakta and Puruṣa, Śiva himself being represented by half a Mātrā or kṣityādi-tattva-dhyāna; and so on. Description of Yoga of six func-

⁶⁹ *Ibid.*, Chap. 2 (fol. 48a)—

brahma-viṣṇu-surāḥ sarve vyādhayaḥ svajanā nṛpāḥ /
yogasyaite mahāvighnā vyādhayas tena yoginām //

⁷⁰ āsanam tūla-sampūrṇam sita-vastrāvagunṭhitam /
kṣṇājīnottariyam ca vinyaset mṛdu-carmani //

Ibid., Chap. 10 (fol. 74b).

⁷¹ *Ibid.*, Chap. 10 (fol. 74b).

ṛju-grīvaḥ śīro-vakṣā (?°grīva-śīro-vakṣā) nāti-śliṣṭauṣṭha-
locanaḥ /

kiṃcid-unnāmita-śīrā dantair dantān na ca spṛśet //
dantāgra-saṃnidhau jihvām acalām saṃniveśya ca /
pārṣṇibhyām viṣṇau rakṣyau tathā prajānaṇam punaḥ //
ūrdhvhopari [ca] saṃsthāpya bāhū tiryak prayatnataḥ /
dakṣiṇam kara-pṛṣṭham tu nyased vāma-talōpari //
unnāmya śanakai pṛṣṭham uro viṣṭabhya cāgrataḥ /
saṃprekṣya nāsikāgraṃ tu diśaś cānavalokayan //
saṃhataḥ (?saṃhata-) prāṇa-saṃcāraḥ pāṣaṇa iva niścalāḥ /
maitrādi-vāsanā-yuktaḥ param vairāgyam āśritaḥ //

tions (ṣaḍ-aṅga yoga), viz., Prāṇāyāma, Pratyāhāra, Dhāraṇā, Dhyāna, Japa, and Samādhi. Method of performing Recaka (exhaling), Pūraka (inhaling) and Kumbhaka (retention of breath). Various disturbances (upadrava). Diseases and their treatment. Performance of Prāṇāyāma with or without Japa (mental repetition of the Mantra). Praise of Prāṇāyāma practised with Japa. Praise of Japa (which removes many difficulties). Idleness and other obstacles to Yoga-practice. Divine indications (upasarga), such as Pratibhā, etc.,⁷² foretoking success. Characteristics of a Siddha (successful) Yogin (viz., revelation of the knowledge of the Vedas and other scriptures as well as of the divine medicines, fragrance of the body, and so on).

Conduct of the Śiva-worshippers.⁷³—Their morning duties; mode of purification of the body; cleansing of clothes of different stuff with different articles; cleansing and purification of utensils and other articles; bath after cleansing the body with earth and cow-dung and sanctifying the water by citing the Śiva-mantra twenty-one times; muttering of the Śiva-mantra as a means of purification in case of various kinds of sins including murder of men, women and children of different castes (among whom the Sat-sūdras and the ordinary Sūdras have been mentioned); restrictions about taking food, etc. in case of impurity due to birth and death. Method of bathing Śiva after performing the penance called Brahma-kūrca⁷⁴ every four months, and of drinking this water for self-purification.

Statements (made in connection with the world of cows → Go-loka or Go-mātṛ-loka) about the position, extents,

⁷² *Ibid.*, Chap. 10 (fol. 78a).

⁷³ *Ibid.*, Chap. 11 (fols. 78b-80b).

⁷⁴ This penance is as follows :

āhorātṛṣṭito bhūtvā paūrṇamāsyāṃ viśeṣataḥ /
pañca-gavyaṃ pibet prātar brahma-kūrcam iti smṛtam //

distance, etc. of the hells and the seven lower worlds (pātāla).⁷⁵

Terrestrial geography.⁷⁶—Names and position of the seven continents (Dvīpas), of which Jambu-dvīpa is said to be in the middle of the earth (mahī-madhye).⁷⁷ Names of the seven oceans, viz., those of salt, sugarcane-juice, wine, etc. Names and position of the nine principal mountains of Jambu-dvīpa (viz., Himavat, Hemakūṭa, etc.). Names of mountains of other Dvīpas, of which Puṣkara-Dvīpa is said to have a circular mountain named Mānasottara.⁷⁸

Celestial geography.⁷⁹—Position and description of the upper worlds (loka), viz., Bhūr-loka, Bhuvār-loka, etc. The seven Winds, viz., Āvaha, Pravaha, Udvaha, Samvaha, Vivaha, Parāvaha and Parivaha, and the places occupied by these. Position and description of Brahma-loka, Viṣṇu-loka, Skanda-loka, Umā-loka and Śiva-loka, the last one occupying the highest place. Detailed description of Śivalokā (which is the same as Go-loka—the world of cows) and of the Gaṇas there.

Glorification of cows.⁸⁰—Praise of rendering respectful service to cows and of making gifts of these animals to Śiva or to one's spiritual guide.

⁷⁵ *Śiva-dharmottara*, Chap. 12 (fols. 80b-81a).

⁷⁶ *Ibid.*, Chap. 12 (fol. 81a-b).

⁷⁷ *Ibid.*, Chap. 12 (fol. 81b)—

jambu-dvīpo mahī-madhye plakṣa-dvīpas tataḥ pāraḥ /
tṛtīyaḥ śālmali-dvīpaḥ kuśa-dvīpaś ca tad-bahiḥ //
krauñca-dvīpaś ca parataḥ śāka-dvīpaś ca tad-bahiḥ //
parataḥ puṣkara-dvīpaḥ śaptamaḥ parikīrtitaḥ //

⁷⁸ *Ibid.*, Chap. 12 (fol. 81b)—

puṣkara-dvīpa-madhye ca parvato valayākṛtiḥ /
ekāḥ sthitaḥ samantāc ca nāmato mānasottaraḥ //

⁷⁹ *Ibid.*, Chap. 12 (fols. 82a-83a and 87a).

⁸⁰ *Ibid.*, Chap. 12 (fols. 83-87a).

Detailed instructions on the rearing of cattle. Worship of Rudra, Brahmā, Viṣṇu, Durgā, Nandā and other Mātṛs (mother goddesses) in a cowshed. Nature of grazing grounds in different seasons. Restrictions about milking of cows (which are not to be milked during the first two months of their delivery, and from which only half the quantity of milk is to be had during the third month). Prohibitions about using cows and bulls for riding.

Gift of various things (including articles of food) to Śiva and to a 'Pāśupata'.⁸¹

Praise of study and practice of the Śiva-dharma.⁸²

Method and praise of worshipping the Śiva-dharma-śāstra by placing it on a Siṃhāsana (throne) or a Daṇḍāsana⁸³ and of having it read out by a reader.⁸⁴

The above summary of contents of the *Śiva-dharmot-tara* shows that it is an interesting work containing varied information about the contemporary state of religion and society. It belongs to those Pāśupatas who looked upon Lakuliśa as a great teacher (guru) identical with Śiva himself, worshipped Śiva in a Liṅga or image or in fire, and held that the best adept in religious lore was one who knew the import of the 'Śiva-tantras'.⁸⁵ These sectaries respected the Veda and looked upon it as one of the sources of their sectarian Mantra of six syllables (the other source being the Śivāgama),⁸⁶ but they deprecated the performance of Vedic sacrifices as causing great waste of time, money and energy and yielding negligible result.⁸⁷ On the other hand, they regarded the Śaiva Āgamas as the highest au-

⁸¹ *Ibid.*, Chap. 12 (fol. 86).

⁸² *Ibid.*, Chap. 12 (fol. 87b).

⁸³⁻⁸⁴ *Ibid.*, Chap. 12 (fol. 88b).

⁸⁵ *Ibid.*, Chap. 2 (fol. 43b).

śiva-tantrārthavid dhimān sa vidyā-parameśvaraḥ /

⁸⁶ For the relevant verse see foot-note 8 above.

⁸⁷ For the relevant verses see foot-notes 12 and 33 above.

thority in religious matters⁸⁸ and advocated the superiority of these works over the Vedas saying that 'both the Vedas and the Śivāgamas being Āgamas, one should not have any dislike for the latter in which an easy way of attaining final release in a single life has been indicated'.⁸⁹ According to them, 'Śiva is known to the Śivāgamas as having no beginning, middle or end and being naturally pure, mighty, omniscient and complete'⁹⁰, and 'in spite of the multiplicity of scriptures the (book of) knowledge accomplished by the omniscient Śiva is the (only) authority'⁹¹. In their opinion, Rudra is the twenty-sixth Tattva, and Śiva, who is tranquil and extremely subtle and is the Parameśvara (supreme lord), is the twenty-seventh one.⁹² They further say that from Puruṣa, who is the twenty-fifth Tattva, originate Rudra (i.e., the lower and secondary one), Viṣṇu and Pitāmaha, and from Pradhāna comes Buddhi, from which, again, come Ahaṁkāra and the other Tattvas in succession.

⁸⁸ Cf. *Śiva-dharmottara*, Chap. 10 (fol. 72b)—

sva-siddhāntāviruddhena yas tarkaṇa vicārayet /
dharma-jñānāpavargārthaṁ sa tattvānveṣaṇe rataḥ //
* * * * *
tasmād āgama-yuktyaiva sūksmārtha-pravicāraṇam /
kartavyaṁ nānumānena kevalena vipaścitā //

⁸⁹ *Ibid.*, Chap. 10 (fol. 73b)—

āgamatve 'pi sāmānye kaḥ pradveṣaḥ śivāgame /
anāyāsenā yatroktā muktir ekena janmanā //

⁹⁰ *Ibid.*, Chap. 10 (fol. 73a)—

ādi-madhyānta-nirmuktaḥ svabhāva-vimalaḥ prabhuḥ /
sarvajñaḥ paripūrṇaś ca śivo jñeyāḥ śivāgame //

⁹¹ *Ibid.*, Chap. 10 (fol. 73a)—

bahutve 'pi ca śāstrāṇāṁ sarvajñena śiṣeṇa yat /
praṇītamamalaṁ jñānaṁ tat pramāṇaṁ na saṁśayaḥ //

⁹² *Ibid.*, Chap. 10 (fol. 74a)—

rudraḥ śaḍ-vimśakaḥ proktaḥ śivaś ca paramaṁ tātaḥ /
saptavimśatimaḥ śāntaḥ su-sūksmaḥ parameśvaraḥ //

Though decrying the Vedic sacrificial rites and professing to follow the Śaiva Āgamas, the *Śiva-dharmottara* seems to uphold the rigours of caste-system by distinguishing between Sat-sūdras and ordinary Sūdras and by declaring as heinous crimes (mahāpātaka) all acts that may affect a Brāhmaṇa physically, mentally or economically. Like the other Purāṇic works it takes a pessimistic view of life and cites a good number of instances⁹³ to show that even gods cannot escape the sufferings consequent upon physical existence.

A perusal of the *Śiva-dharmottara* shows that it was composed much later than the *Śiva-dharma*. Unlike the latter, it recognises the authority of the Śivāgamas⁹⁴ and the Śiva-tantras,⁹⁵ mentions the use of the Tantric Yantra for evil purposes,⁹⁶ and refers, in connection with the mention of the distances between the different Pātālas, to 'people most conversant with the meanings of Tantras' (tantrārtha-vittama).⁹⁷ By its inclusion of meat among the articles of food to be offered to Śiva and by its mention 'that people used to worship Rudra for the sake of wine and meat, the *Śiva-dharmottara* seems to betray its knowledge of the wide spread of Tantricism among the people. In Chap. 2 (fol. 44a) there is a direction for the use of the Nandi-nāgara script in copying manuscripts, and, accord-

⁹³ Viz., those of Yajña, whose head was severed and later joined to the trunk by Aśvins and who, consequently, had a permanent disease of the head (śiro-roga); Mārtaṇḍa-Bhānu, who had an attack of leprosy; Varuṇa, who suffered from dropsy (jalodara); Pūṣan, who had mutilation of tooth (daśana-vaikalya); Śaci's husband (Indra), who had his hand benumbed; Soma, who was attacked with a dangerous type of consumption; Dakṣa, who had a severe attack of fever; and so on.

⁹⁴ See *Śiva-dharmottara*, Chaps. 1 (fol. 41b), 5 (fol. 53b), and 10 (fols. 72b; 73a, 73b).

⁹⁵ *Ibid.*, Chap. 2 (fol. 43b).

⁹⁶ *Ibid.*, Chap. 6 (fol. 56b). For the text of the verse see foot-note 61 above.

⁹⁷ *Ibid.*, Chap. 12 (fol. 81a).

ing to Dr. Bühler, this script originated from the Southern Nāgarī of the 8th-11th centuries A.D.⁹⁸ So, the *Śiva-dharmottara* cannot possibly be dated earlier than 700 A.D. On the other hand, there are evidences to show that this work was written earlier than 800 A.D. It has already been mentioned that of the two old Newari Mss. in the library of the Asiatic Society, Calcutta, which include the texts of both the *Śiva-dharma* and the *Śiva-dharmottara*, one was dated by Mm. Haraprasad Shastri in the twelfth century A.D. on palaeographical grounds and the other has in the post-colophon statement of its eighth work the mention of the Newari year 156 (= 1036 A.D.). So, the *Śiva-dharmottara* must have been written not later than 1000 A.D. Again, a good number of verses have been quoted from the '*Śiva-dharmottara*' in Raghunandana's *Smṛti-tattva*, Rudradhara's *Varṣa-kṛtya*, Mādhavācārya's commentary on the *Parāśara-smṛti*, Hemādri's *Caturvarga-cintāmaṇi*, and Aparārka's commentary on the *Yājñavalkya-smṛti*, and also in the *Śvetāśvatara-upaniṣad-bhāṣya* ascribed to Śaṅkara⁹⁹ (see Appendices I and II); *Devī-purāṇa*, Chap. 91, which was interpolated not later than 1050 A.D.,¹⁰⁰ has the line 'nandināgarakair varṇair lekhaṇec chiva-pustakam' in common with *Śiva-dharmottara*, Chap. 2 and seems to have known and utilised the section on Vidyā-dāna of the latter work; the *Ekāmra-purāṇa*, which was written in the tenth or eleventh century A.D.¹⁰¹ mentions 'Śiva-yoga' as having been described in the '*Śiva-dharmottara*'¹⁰² and thus knows the

⁹⁸ G. Bühler, *Indian Palaeography*, p. 51.

⁹⁹ That this Bhāṣya is a post-Śaṅkara work can be little doubted. S. K. Belvalkar, Vidhuśekhara Śāstri, and others do not recognise it as a work of the great teacher Śaṅkarācārya.

¹⁰⁰ For my article on the *Devī-purāṇa* see *New Indian Antiquary*, V, pp. 2-20.

¹⁰¹ For this date of the *Ekāmra-purāṇa* see my article in *Poona Orientalist*, XVI, 1951, pp. 70-76.

¹⁰² See *Ekāmra-purāṇa* (Dacca University Ms. No. 4492), fol. 86a-b-

śiva-yogaṃ samāsādy śiva-dharmottaroditam /
akṣaye śiva-loke ca śīvena saha modate //

present *Śiva-dharmottara*, which deals with 'Śiva-yoga' in Chap. 10; and the *Vāyaviya-saṃhitā* (of the *Śiva-purāṇa*), which was written between 800 and 1000 A.D.,¹⁰³ knows the *Śiva-dharmottara*, which it mentions as the "Uttara" (latter part) of the "*Śiva-dharmākhyā Śāstra*".¹⁰⁴ So, the *Śiva-dharmottara* must be dated not later than 800 A.D.

Thus, the date of composition of the *Śiva-dharmottara* (in its present form) falls between 700 and 800 A.D.

Like the *Śiva-dharma*, the *Śiva-dharmottara* also seems to have been written in Northern India. Most, if not all, of the holy places, said to be resorted to by gods and Siddhas,¹⁰⁵ belong to this part of the country. It is probable that the work was written at Banaras, the name of which heads the list of holy places given in Chap. 4 (fol. 53b). In spite of its probable origin in Northern India, this work attained popularity in South India also, where Mss. of this work have been found in Devanāgarī, Āndhra and Malāyalam scripts.

It has already been said that the *Śiva-dharmottara* has been drawn upon in some of the *Smṛti Nibandhas*. But unfortunately, most of the verses quoted therein are not found in the present text of this work.¹⁰⁶ This remarkable fact may be explained by saying that the text of the

¹⁰³ For the date of the *Vāyaviya-saṃhitā* see my article on "The Problems relating to the *Śiva-purāṇa*" published in *Our Heritage* (a half-yearly Bulletin of the Research Department of the Sanskrit College, Calcutta), Vol. I., 1953, pp. 46ff.

¹⁰⁴ See *Śiva-purāṇa* (Vaṅgavāsī ed.), V (*Vāyaviya-saṃhitā*). 24.

śāstraṃ ca śiva-dharmākhyam dharmākhyam ca tad-uttaram.

¹⁰⁵ These are *Vṛāṇasī*, *Kurukṣetra*, *Prayāga*, *Puṣkara*, *Gaṅgā*, *Samudra-tīra*, *Naimiṣa*, *Amarakantaka*, *Śrī-parvata*, *Gokarna* and *Veda-parvata*.—*Śiva-dharmottara*, Chap. 4 (fol. 53b).

¹⁰⁶ For the idea of these untraceable verses see Appendix II.

One of these verses (quoted in *Mādhavācārya's* commentary on *Parāśara-smṛti* II. ii. p. 339) is as follows :

veśyā n kula-badhūm kṛtvā vartate yo narādhamah /
bhakta n bhoḥtum aśaktaś ca maṇḍa-pānena jīvati //

Śiva-dharmottara, known to these writers, was more extensive than what has come down to us. As a matter of fact, the *Śiva-dharmottara* itself records a tradition that it is the abridged form of a much bigger work dealing with Karma-yoga, Jñāna-yoga and the nature of Dharma and Adharma. So, the original *Śiva-dharmottara* must have been composed much earlier than the eighth century A.D.

APPENDIX I.

The verses, ascribed to the '*Śiva-dharmottara*' in

- | | |
|---|---|
| 1. Aparārka's commentary (on the
<i>Yājñavalkya-smṛti</i>),
p. 274 (the first quotation of 2
lines) | Occur in <i>Śiva-dhar-</i>
<i>mottara</i> ,
Chap. 11 (fol. 80a). |
| 2. Hemādri's <i>Caturvarga-cintāmaṇi</i> , III.
p. 353 (2 lines wrongly ascribed to
the ' <i>Śiva-dharma</i> ')
p. 430 (2 lines)
pp. 434-5 (2 lines)
pp. 1628-29
(17 lines)

p. 1633 (4 lines)
p. 1634 (7 lines) | Chap. 2 (fol. 43a).
Chap. 4 (fol. 52a).
Chap. 4 (fol. 52a).

Chap. 12 (fol. 85a-b).

Chap. 12 (fol. 85b).
Chap. 12 (fol. 85b). |
| 3. Mādhavācārya's commentary (on the
<i>Parāśara-smṛti</i>),
II. ii, p. 208 (2 lines) | Chap. 6 (fol. 55a). |
| 4. Raghunandana's <i>Smṛti-tattva</i> ,
I, p. 657 (2 lines, wrongly ascribed
to the ' <i>Śiva-dharma</i> ') | Chap. 2 (fol. 43a). |
| 5. <i>Śvetāśvatara-upaniṣad-bhāṣya</i> ascribed to
Śaṅkara (Ānandāśrama Press ed.),
p. 7 (4 lines)
p. 8 (10 lines)

p. 33 (2 lines)
p. 34 (2 lines)

p. 35 (9 lines) | Chap. 3 (fol. 49b, lines 3-4)
Chap. 3 (fol. 49b, line 6
to fol. 50a, line 2).
Chap. 3 (fol. 50a, line 3-
v. 1. <i>ज्ञानात्</i> for <i>ध्यानात्</i>).
Chap. 3 (fol. 49b, line
4).
Chap. 3 (fol. 50b, line
2). |

While examining the *Śiva-dharma* we have already said that in *Caturvarga-cintāmaṇi* I, p. 467 and II. ii, pp. 396 and 887-9, 6, 11, and 37 metrical lines respectively of *Śiva-dharma*, Chaps. 10 and 9 have been wrongly ascribed to the *Śiva-dharmottara*.

APPENDIX II.

The verses, ascribed to the '*Śiva-dharmottara*' in the following works, are not found in the present *Śiva-dharmottara* :—

(1) Aparārka's commentary on the *Yājñavalkya-smṛti*, pp. 274-5 (five quotations of 3, 1, 4, 12 and 9 lines respectively on impurity and purification).

(2) Hemādri's *Caturvarga-cintāmaṇi* III. i, p. 354 (4 lines on the characteristics of an 'Ātmajña' and the *Śiva-yogiṇs*).

(3) Mādhavācārya's commentary on the *Parāśara-smṛti*, II. ii, pp. 227 (4 lines on Karma-vipāka), 236 (11 lines on the same topic), 339-40 (21 lines on the same topic), 243-4 (13 lines on the same topic), and 250 (2 lines on the same topic).

(4) Rudradhara's *Varṣa-kṛtya*, pp. 102-111 (about 200 lines on *Sivārātri-vrata-vidhi*).

(5) Raghunandana's *Smṛti-tattva*, I, p. 417 (2 lines on *Siva-worship*).

AUTHORSHIP OF SOME KĀRIKĀS & FRAGMENTS ASCRIBED TO BHARTṚHARI

By PROF. SADHU RAM

NOW that the difficult and controversial problem of Bhartṛhari's date has been more or less settled,¹ it is time that attention were paid to the more important aspects of his works. In particular, the full significance and true importance of his enormous contributions to the philosophy of language should be carefully brought out, in the context of the contemporary thinking of the West, where problems relating to meaning and language have played an increasingly dominant role during the last four or five

¹ First assigned to the 7th century A.D. (by K. B. Pathak, 'Dharmakīrti and Śāṅkarācārya', p. 88, and 'Bhartṛhari and Kumārila', p. 213, *J. Bom. Br. R. A. S.*, 1890—1894; 650-651 by Max Müller, "*The Six Systems of Indian Philosophy*," 1899, Reprint by Suśil Gupta Ltd., 1952 under the title '*Indian Philosophy*' Vol. IV, p. 41; Kielhorn: *Indian Antiquary*, Vol. XII, pp. 226-227; Macdonell: *History of Sanskrit Literature*, p. 340; A. B. Keith: *A History of Sanskrit Literature*, p. 429, *Classical Sanskrit Literature*, p. 111; S. K. Belvalkar: '*Systems of Sanskrit Grammar*', p. 40; B. A. Ramaswami: *Introduction to Tattva-bindu*, p. 28; Mahendra Kumar: *Introduction to Prameya-kamala-mārtanda*, p. 7; and others), Bhartṛhari's date has been gradually pushed back to the 5th cent. (by Kunhanraja: '*I-tsing and Bhartṛhari's Vākyapadīya*' in *Kṛṣṇaswami Aiyangar Commemoration Volume*, pp. 295-297; Preface to *Śloka-vārtika-vyākhyā*, pp. xvi-xvii; *Descriptive Catalogue of Skt. Mss.*, Adyar, Vol. I, Introduction, p. xxiii; H. R. Ramaswami Iyengar: *Journal of Bombay Branch of R. A. S.* Vol. 26, part II, pp. 147-148; Sri Jambūvijaya: *Mallavādi and Bhartṛhari's Date*, *Satyaprakāśa*, Vol. 17, No. 2, pp. 26-30; *Buddhiprakāśa*, Vol. 98, No. 11, pp. 332-335), to the 4th cent. (not later than 343 A.D. by Yudhiṣṭhira Mīmāṃsaka: *Sāṅkṛit Vyākaraṇa Śāstra kā Itihāsa*, p. 262) and finally to not later than 300 A. D. by the present writer in his paper: '*Bhartṛhari's Date*', *Journal of the Gangānath Jha Research Institute*, Vol. IX, parts 2, 3, 4, Feb-May-Aug., 1952, issued in Nov. 1953, pp. 135-151.

decades. While Peirce,² Frege,³ Wittgenstein,⁴ Carnap,⁵ Russell,⁶ Morris,⁷ and Cassirer,⁸ among others, have made significant contributions to this important field of philosophy, it is time that Bhartrhari were to be accorded his real position in this company, for the truth is, that he is easily head and shoulders above all of them both in range of treatment and depth of insight. His discovery by the contemporary world is, therefore, bound to lead to far-reaching consequences of a revolutionary character.

But any such attempt to interpret and present Bhartrhari in this or other aspects must break down in face of enormous obstacles, of which the most unfortunate is the non-availability of a reasonably correct and complete text of his *magnum opus*—the *Vākyapadīya*. The first edition of this important work started appearing from Banaras in 1884, and after progressing up to the third Kāṇḍa in the year 1905, it broke off in the middle of the Sādhana-samuddeśa. K. Sāmbaśiva Śāstrī took up the thread in 1935, and published the succeeding seven Samuddeśas, but left out the last and the most important one. It was left to L.A. Ravi Varma of Trivandrum to complete the series by editing this Samuddeśa and publishing it in 1942. From

² The Collected Papers : Vols. I to VI, 1931-35.

³ (i) Foundation of Arithmetic, German Ed. 1893-1903.

(ii) On Sense and Reference : Translations from Philosophical Writings, pp. 56-78.

⁴ (i) Tractatus Logico-philosophicus, 1922.

(ii) Philosophical Investigations, 1953.

⁵ (i) Introduction to Semantics, 1942.

(ii) Meaning and Necessity, 1947.

⁶ (i) On Denoting : Mind, 1905.

(ii) Analysis of Mind, 1921.

(iii) An Inquiry into Meaning and Truth, 1940.

⁷ (i) Foundations of the Theory of Signs, 1938.

(ii) Signs, Language and Behaviour, 1946.

⁸ Philosophy of Symbolic Forms, Vols. I & II, 1953-54.

1884 to 1942 is a long interval, during which one should have expected some efforts by competent scholars to present a critical edition of the whole text, after utilising all the available manuscripts. But barring the noteworthy efforts of my esteemed friend—Pt. Chāru Deva Śāstri in the years 1934-1939—nothing of the kind has been actually done. This apathy towards Bhartṛhari and his *Vākya-padīya* is to be deeply regretted.

The present paper has been written mainly for the future editors of the *Vākya-padīya*. It seeks to focus their attention on the hitherto neglected question of the authorship of kārīkās and fragments ascribed to Bhartṛhari by his numerous successors—both admirers as well as critics. The treatment of this problem has been divided into three sections. In the first, kārīkās and fragments ascribed to him but not traceable in the extant *Vākya-padīya* have been considered. The second section takes up the kārīkās which are today regarded as interpolations by scholars. The third and the concluding section takes up the larger question whether, as seems to be the consensus of opinion among students of Bhartṛhari—traditional as well as modern—some Samuddeśas of the third Kāṇḍa have been really lost. As against the prevailing opinion, the hypothesis has been presented mainly for initiating discussion and investigation, that the existing Samuddeśas—14 in number—comprise the complete text of this Kāṇḍa, though a number of Kārīkās from many of these Samuddeśas, as shown in the first section, are actually missing in the printed texts available today.

I

While it is common knowledge that Bhartṛhari is one of the most oft-quoted writers on Sanskrit grammar, it is not so well-known that many of these quotations are not to be found in the text of the *Vākya-padīya* that is avail-

able today.⁹ Accordingly, an attempt will be made in this section to determine the authorship of the more important of these citations, and indicate their possible context and location in the *Vākya-padīya*.

- (i) क्रियायाः सिद्धतावस्था साध्यावस्था च कीर्तिता ।
सिद्धतां द्रव्यमिच्छन्ति तत्रैवेच्छन्ति घञ्विधिम् ॥

This *kārikā* has been cited among others by Bhaṭṭoji Dikṣita in the *Śabda-kaustubha*,¹⁰ and Kaunḍa Bhaṭṭa in the *Vaiyyākaraṇa-bhūṣaṇa*.¹¹ The former does not expressly attribute it to Bhartṛhari,¹² as the latter does;¹³ but a careful perusal of the text together with the context leaves one in no doubt that Bhartṛhari is being cited.¹⁴

⁹ It is a pity that so acute a scholar of Bhartṛhari as Pt. Chāru Deva Śāstri has concluded rather arbitrarily, that none of such citations can possibly be from the *Vākya-padīya* (vide his remark in the Upodghāta : तन्त्रान्तरेषु श्लोकान्तराण्यपि बहूनि समुपलभ्यन्ते हरिवचनाभिमतानि । तानि स्वाभाव्यादेव वाक्यपदीयान्तःपातीनि नार्हन्ति भवितुमित्युदास्यतेऽस्माभिस्तदुदाहृतेः । (*Vākya-padīya*, Kāṇḍa I, p. 11, Ram Lal Kapur Trust Ed., Lahore, 1934). It is hoped that the present section will establish conclusively that most of the citations ascribed to Bhartṛhari by his outstanding successors are really by Bhartṛhari, and form part of the text of his *Vākya-padīya*. No future editor of Bhartṛhari should, therefore neglect this important source of completing and correcting the text of the *Vākya-padīya*.

¹⁰ On Pāṇini 1.3.1., p. 54, Chaukhambha Ed.

¹¹ In Dhātvartha-nirṇaya, p. 61, Bombay Sanskrit and Prakrit Series Ed.

¹² He simply remarks : 'उक्तं च'.

¹³ His preferatory remark is decisive : 'उक्तं च वाक्यपदीये'.

¹⁴ It is, for instance, clear from the context that Bhartṛhari is being cited by the author. On the preceding page (53), Bhaṭṭoji quotes the famous line : 'आत्मानमात्मना विभ्रदस्तीति व्यपदिश्यते' (k. 47, Sam-bandha-samuddeśa, K. III) with the clear remark : 'उक्तं च हरिणा'. Next, the opening *kārikā* of Kriyā-samuddeśa, K. III, is quoted. Then with the general preface 'उक्तं च' he cites *kārikā* 4 of Kriyā-samuddeśa, K. III, *Kārikā* 2 (first half only) of Kāla-samuddeśa, K. III, and *Kārikā* 12 (first half only) of Kriyā-samuddeśa. We now come to p. 54, which opens with the citation of *kārikā* 35 of Jāti-samuddeśa, K. III. Then follows this *Kārikā*, which is the first of a group of three. The last two, it is important to note, are to be found in the Kriyā-samuddeśa (k. 46-47 of the Triyandrum Ed.), while the first cannot be traced anywhere

Unless there are weighty evidences to the contrary, it is not easy, nor correct, to ignore or reject the testimony of versatile scholars like Bhaṭṭoji Dikṣita and Kaṇḍa Bhaṭṭa. We, accordingly, conclude that this kārīkā must have formed part of the text of the *Vākyapadīya*, as late as the days of these writers on Sanskrit grammar. As for its location in the main body, we suggest that it should be placed before kārīkā 45 of the *Kriyā-samuddeśa* of K. III. If the introductory remark of Helārāja on kārīkā 45¹⁵ is kept in mind, it is difficult to avoid the impression that there is a gap which can be properly filled only by this missing kārīkā. Once we read it here, a new harmony can be discerned in the rest of the succeeding kārīkās till we reach kārīkā 52, with which the topic is finally concluded.

(ii) अपाये यदुदासीनं चलं वा यदि वाचलम् ।

ध्रुवमेवातदावेशात्तदापादानमुच्यते ॥

(iii) पततो ध्रुव एवाश्वो यस्मादश्वात् पतत्यसौ ।

तस्याप्यश्वस्य पतने कुड्यादि ध्रुवमुच्यते ॥

Both these kārīkās have been cited by Bhaṭṭoji Dikṣita in his *Śabda-kaustubha*,¹⁶ and by Kaṇḍa Bhaṭṭa in his *Vaiyyākaraṇa-bhūṣaṇa*.¹⁷ The former expressly

in the *Vākyapadīya*. Bhaṭṭoji, however, has evidently cited all the three from the same source. Finally, our conclusion is strengthened by another consideration. Bhaṭṭoji has quoted freely from the *Vākyapadīya*. The following cases, identified by us for the first time, should be noted : (i) *Śabda-kaustubha* on p. 85, k. 66 of Karmādhikāra of Sādhana-samuddeśa, K. III; on I.4.2, p. 115, k. 6 and first half of k. 8 of Apādānādhikāra of Sādhana-samuddeśa, K. III; on 2.3.36, p. 234, k. 67 of Vṛtti-samuddeśa; on 2.3.65, p. 243, k. 65-67 of Vṛtti-samuddeśa; on 2.4.66, p. 290, k. 82 of Vṛtti-samuddeśa; on 3.1.8, p. 315, ks. 72-73 of Vṛtti-samuddeśa, K. III; on 3.1.26, p. 343, k. 2 of Hetvādhikāra of Sādhana-samuddeśa and p. 357, k. 5 of Sādhana-samuddeśa, K. III; on 3.1.85, p. 391, k. 1 of Upagraha-samuddeśa, K. III; and on 3.1.87, p. 393, k. 56 of Sādhana-samuddeśa, K. III. This list is merely illustrative, and not exhaustive.

¹⁵ 'इदानीमेकाभिधानत्वमेवात्र नास्ति, अपि तु भिन्नाभिधानत्वमिति पाकादौ शब्दद्वयेन धातुप्रत्ययरूपेण सिद्धसाध्यरूपोभयार्थ-प्रतिपादनमविरुद्धमित्येतदुपपादयितुमुपक्रमते ।' on k. 45 of *Kriyā-samuddeśa*, p. 41, Trivandrum Edition, Vol. I.

¹⁶ On I.4.24, p. 115.

¹⁷ p. 110.

attributes it to Bhartṛhari,¹⁸ and locates it in the Prakīrṇa-Kāṇḍa of the *Vākya-padīya*. It should be noted that the third kārīkā of this group cited by Bhaṭṭojī can be traced as the 6th kārīkā of the Apādānādhikāra of Kāṇḍa III (p. 270, Banaras Ed.). One may, therefore, reasonably conclude that the preceding two kārīkāś are also from the same source and context.

The above conclusion is fully corroborated by the text of Helārāja's 'īkā' on the opening portion of this Adhikāra, which has no relation whatsoever with the opening kārīkāś printed in the Banaras edition.¹⁹ In fact, the first of the two kārīkāś, cited by Bhaṭṭojī, forms the text of his īkā practically word for word.²⁰ The second kārīkā, similarly, forms the missing text of the īkā which has been erroneously printed under kārīkā 3 of the Banaras edition.²¹ Helārāja, thus, helps us in locating both the kārīkāś in the Apādānādhikāra of the *Vākya-padīya*, in a decisive manner.

(iv) यथा मणिकृपाणादौ रूपमेकमनेकधा ।

तथैव ध्वनिषु स्फोट एक एव विभिद्यते ॥

This kārīkā has been cited by Kaunḍa Bhaṭṭa, and has been expressly ascribed to the *Vākya-padīya*.²² Śeṣa-

¹⁸ Vide his remark : 'उक्तं च हरिणा प्रकीर्णकाण्डे', p. 115.

¹⁹ 'इदानीं.... प्राप्तावसरं पञ्चम्यर्थमपादानं विचारयितुमाह—
निदिष्टविषयं किञ्चिदुपात्तविषयं तथा ।
अपेक्षितक्रियं चेति त्रिधाऽपादानमुच्यते ॥

अपाये साध्ये यद् ध्रुवमेकरूपमनाविष्टापायलक्षणक्रियमस्मिन्नपायेनाविष्टे-
ऽपि तत्साधनमपादानमित्यवधिविशेषापेक्षत्वात् संबन्धोदासीनं भवतु । कः अपाक्षा-
नोपादानस्य विषयः । कथ्यते.....' p. 268.

²⁰ Compare the underlined portion of the īkā in note 19 with the first of the two kārīkāś.

²¹ 'तथा ह्यपाये साध्ये यद् ध्रुवं तेनापायेनासंसृष्टमित्येषोऽर्थः ।' एवं च कृत्वा धावतोऽप्युपात्ततत्तत् पतने स्वकर्तृकत्वाभावादेवानाविष्टधातुस्य-
श्वस्य तत्रास्त्येव संबन्धोदासीनसाधनसाध्यो ह्यपायः । तत्राश्व उदासीनः अपायानु-
संबद्धः ।' Ibid. pp. 269-70.

²² *Vaiyyākaraṇa-bhāṣaṇa*, p. 251, with the remark 'तदुक्तं वाक्यपदीये'

kr̥ṣṇa quotes it in his *Sphoṭa-tattva-nirūpaṇa*²³. It is not possible at present to locate it specifically in any portion of the *Vākya-padīya*, but it is probable that originally it formed part of the Āgama-Kāṇḍa.

(v) अभिव्यक्तपदार्था ये स्वतंत्रा लोकविश्रुताः ।

शास्त्रार्थस्तेषु कर्तव्यः शब्देषु न तदुक्तिषु ॥

Cited by Kaunḍa Bhaṭṭa in his *Vaiyyākaraṇa-bhūṣaṇa*, this kārīkā, if his testimony is to be accepted (as it should be), is from the *Vākya-padīya*, to which he expressly ascribes it.²⁴ Kaiyaṭa cites it in his *Pradīpa* on the *Mahā-bhāṣya*, and regards it to be of Bhartṛhari.²⁵

²³ p. 11, vide p. 715 of the editor's note in the *Vaiyyākaraṇa-bhūṣaṇa*.

²⁴ p. 225, 'इति वाक्यपदीयेनैव निरस्तत्वात् ।'

²⁵ On 4.1.96, p. 134, Vol. IV, *Mahābhāṣya* with *Pradīpa* and *Uddyota*, edited by Bhārgava Śāstrī Joshi, Nirṇaya Sāgar Press, 1942.

I have enormous respect for Kaiyaṭa's scholarship and accuracy. In particular, he was thoroughly well-versed in Bhartṛhari, as would be evident from the frequent citations in his *Pradīpa* from the *Vākya-padīya* as well as the *Mahābhāṣya-tīkā*. From the *Vākya-padīya*, the following cases, identified by the present writer for the first time, should be noted : k. 60, Karmādhikāra, Sādhana-samuddeśa, K. III, p. 210, on 1.3.67; k. 18, Upagraha-samuddeśa, K. III, p. 131, on 1.3.77; k. 455, K. II, p. 271, on 1.4.24; k. 206, K. II, p. 167, on 1.4.82; ks. 47, 48, 100, 101, 102, Vṛtti-samuddeśa, K. III, on 2.1.1; k. 2, Guṇa-samuddeśa, K. III, p. 152, on 2.1.68 and 5.3.55; ks. 6, 7, 8, Kāla-samuddeśa, K. III, and k. 125, Vṛtti-samuddeśa, K. III, on 2.2.5; k. 27, Saṅkhyā-samuddeśa, K. III, p. 118, on 2.3.1; ks. 1, 2, Śeṣādhikāra, Sādhana-samuddeśa, K. III, on 2.3.50; k. 4, Śeṣādhikāra, Sādhana-samuddeśa, K. III, on 2.3.52; ks. 4, 5, 15, Kriyā-samuddeśa, K. III, on 3.1.21; k. 2, Hetvādhikāra, and k. 121, Karmādhikāra, Sādhana-samuddeśa, K. III, on 3.1.26; ks. 49, 51, Kriyā-samuddeśa, K. III, on 3.1.67; ks. 82, 83, 84, Kriyā-samuddeśa, K. III, on 3.2.123; k. 293, K. II, on 3.2.124; ks. 63, 46, 47, Kriyā-samuddeśa, K. III, on 3.3.18; ks. 112, 113, Kāla-samuddeśa, K. III, on 3.3.134; ks. 16, 17, Upagraha-samuddeśa, K. III, and k. 3, Guṇa-samuddeśa, K. III, on 4.1.1 and also on 5.3.55; ks. 8, 9, Līṅga-samuddeśa, ks. 321, 322, 323, 324, 325, Vṛtti-samuddeśa, ks. 20, 21, Līṅga-samuddeśa, K. III, on 4.1.3; k. 257, K. II, on 4.1.48; ks. 369, 370, K. II, on 4.1.162; ks. 2, 9, 3, Guṇa-samuddeśa, K. III, on 5.3.55; k. 116, Kartrādhikāra, Sādhana-samuddeśa, K. III, on 6.3.46; and ks. 37, 38, K. I., on 6.3.109.

The opinion of scholars like Yudhiṣṭhira Mīmāṃsaka (*Sanskrit Vākaraṇa Śāstra kā Itihāsa*, p. 283) who maintain that Kaiyaṭa has given no quotation from Bhartṛhari's *Mahābhāṣya-tīkā*, is mistaken. The following citations should be noted :

(vi) सामान्यान्यभिधीयन्ते सत्ता वा तैर्विशेषिता ।

संज्ञाशब्दस्वरूपं वा प्रत्ययैस्त्वतलादिभिः ॥

This kārikā has been cited by Kaṇḍa Bhaṭṭa, and ascribed to Bhartṛhari.²⁶ It is not possible to say definitely if it is from the *Vākya-padīya*, though there is very high degree of probability about it. Nor can we locate it specifically at present in this work, though it may well be from the Jāti-samuddeśa.

(vii) सत्यं वस्तु तदाकारैरसत्यैरवधार्यते ।

असत्योपाधिभिः शब्दैः सत्यमेवाभिधीयते ॥

(viii) अध्रुवेण निमित्तेन देवदत्तगृहं यथा ।

गृहीतं गृहशब्देन शुद्धमेवाभिधीयते ॥

These kārikās have been cited by Sāyaṇa Mādhava in his *Sarva-darśana-saṅgraha*,²⁷ and ascribed to the Sambandha-samuddeśa. It occurs in the context of the general presentation of Pāṇini-darśana. Now, neither of the two kārikās are to be found in the existing text of Sambandha-samuddeśa. It is not easy to reject or ignore Mādhava's testimony, more so because his other citations²⁸

(i) गुणकर्मणि लादिविधिः पूर्वं गुणकर्मणा भवति योगात् ।

मुख्यं कर्मप्रेप्सुर्यस्माद् गव्येव यतते प्राक् ॥

तस्माच्छुद्धस्य दुहेर्भवति गवा पूर्वमेव संबन्धः ।

गोदुहिना पयसस्तु प्राक् तस्माल्लादयस्तस्मिन् ॥

on 1.4.54 (also cited by Helārāja in *ṭikā* on k. 70, Karmādhikāra, Sādhana-samuddeśa, K. III, p. 220).

(ii) निमित्तमित्येक इत्यत्र विभक्त्या नाभिधीयते ।

तद्वस्तु यदेकत्वं विभक्तिस्तत्र वर्तते ॥ on 2.3.1

Kaiyaṭa's testimony, therefore, has a compelling force, and cannot be lightly ignored.

²⁶ p. 223, 'उक्तं च हरिणा'—*Vaiyyākaraṇa-bhūṣaṇa*.

²⁷ 'इति तान्त्रिकसमुद्देशे समर्थितम्', p. 306, edited by Abhyankar, 1951.

²⁸ On p. 293, k. 11 of *Brahma-Kāṇḍa*; on p. 298, k. 1 of *Kāṇḍa I* and k. 1 of *Kāṇḍa III*; on p. 303 k. 85 of *Kāṇḍa I*; on pp. 304-305, ks. 33-34 of *Jāti-samuddeśa*, K. III; on p. 305, k. 20 of *Kriyā-samuddeśa*, K. III; on p. 309, ks. 85 and 70 of *Sambandha-samuddeśa*; ks. 15-16 of *Dravya-samuddeśa*; and on p. 310, ks. 14 and 16 of K. I.

from Bhartṛhari can be traced in the *Vākya-padīya*. We, therefore, conclude that the two kārīkās must form part of the *Sambandha-samuddeśa*.²⁹

II

The text of the *Vākya-padīya* has, ironical as it may sound, suffered considerably at the hands of Pt. Chāru Deva Śāstrī, to whom we all owe the epoch-making discovery of Bhartṛhari's important *vr̥tti*. He has condemned a large number of kārīkās of the *Brahma-Kāṇḍa* as interpolations in the main text, and has relegated them to the *vr̥tti* itself. We will try to show that as many as 35 of such kārīkās must form part of the *Vākya-padīya* text, and that even after this addition the kārīkā portion of the *Brahma-Kāṇḍa* suffers from some lacunae. The current conviction that this *Kāṇḍa* has come down to us intact would, thus, appear to be unfounded.

It will be appropriate to lay down clearly the basic principles that should guide the textual criticism of this work. In the first place, the sound, though somewhat conservative, practice of depending on the extant manuscripts in determining whether a kārīkā forms part of the original text, should not be given up, unless there are strong reasons to the contrary. The second major source for valuable information on doubtful cases should be the opinion of the commentators, who must be supposed to be better acquainted with the text than any of the modern

²⁹ In the Banaras edition, these kārīkās occur as Nos. 2, 3 of the *Dravya-samuddeśa* (p. 86). It is inconceivable that Mādhava was not familiar with the text of this *Samuddeśa*, for he has actually quoted ks. 15, 16 on p. 309. The conclusion is inescapable that the two kārīkās in question must have originally formed part of the *Sambandha-samuddeśa*.

• Helārāja provides further testimony about the incompleteness of the extant version of this *Samuddeśa*. In his *tīkā* on kārīkā 46 of *Kāla-samuddeśa*, *Kāṇḍa* III, he observes 'संबन्धसमुद्देशे प्रदर्शितदिशाक्रमं ब्रह्मविवर्तरूपं विश्वम्'. This, however, has not been shown in the printed *Sambandha-samuddeśa*.

scholars. Accordingly, no *kārikā* should be declared an interpolation if it conflicts with the testimony of these commentators. Thirdly, *kārikās* that have been cited by others as part of the *Vākṣyapadīya*, must be accepted and accommodated as such, unless we have conclusive proofs to establish that they are from other sources.

Now, it would appear that Pt. Chāru Deva has disregarded all these basic principles. In addition, he seems to have been labouring under two major misconceptions. In the first place, he proceeds on the unwarranted assumption that the *Vākṣyapadīya* does not contain citations from other works, because it is not a 'saṅgraha' work³⁰. Nevertheless, he concedes, grudgingly and without realizing its full impact on determining the text portion of the *Vākṣyapadīya*, that a number of *kārikās* from other sources have been cited by the author.³¹ The truth is, that Bhartṛhari was expressly anxious to incorporate as much of the vast and valuable tradition as he could in his work.³² His

³⁰. Vide his remark in Upodghāta, p. 9: 'न हि वाक्यपदीये स्यतस्तत्रेभ्यः समाहृताः कारिकाः । नायं संग्रहात्मको ग्रन्थः ।'

³¹. Upodghāta, p. 10: 'तथापि सन्त्यत्र काश्चन कारिकाः परकीया इति शक्यते प्रमाणतोऽध्यवसातुम् ।'

³². (i) 'स्मृत्यर्थमनुगम्यन्ते केचिदेव यथागमम् ।' Kāṇḍa I, k. 26, p. 36, also k. 30, p. 46, Lahore edition.

(ii) चैतन्यमिव यश्चायमविच्छेदेन वर्तते ।

आगमस्तमुपासीनो हेतुवादैनं बाध्यते ॥ K. I, k. 41, p. 53. तस्मादकृतकं शास्त्रं स्मृतिं च सनिबन्धनाम् ।

आश्रित्यारभ्यते शिष्टैः शब्दानामनुशासनम् ॥ K. I, k. 43, p. 54.

(iii) ks. 108 to 116 of Kāṇḍa I are a typical example of Bhartṛhari's habit of presenting the different traditions within the compass of his work. A typical remark in the *vr̥tti* is the one on k. 116: 'इत्येवमादि प्रतिशाखं शिक्षासु भिन्नमागमदर्शनं दृश्यमानं सर्वं प्रपञ्चेन समर्थयितव्यम्', p. 104. Similarly, on k. 117: 'अथापर आगमोऽनुगम्यते', p. 105 on k. 143, : 'इत्येकेषामागमः', p. 127.

(iv) The opening Kāṇḍa is significantly entitled: 'आगमसमुच्चयो नाम ब्रह्मकाण्डम्', fols. p. 137.

commentators also seem to be rather clear on the issue³³. The *Vākyapadīya* is, therefore, replete with citations from earlier works; and even when we can identify these, the quoted kārīkās must be regarded as forming the part of the text.

The second unfounded assumption on which the learned editor seems to proceed is the belief that the *vr̥tti* form of commentary can accommodate extensive kārīkā citations, for he relegates to the *vr̥tti* all the kārīkās that have been adjudged by him to be interpolations in the main text of the *Vākyapadīya*. We will, therefore, do well to recall that '*vr̥tti*' is a pithy and brief style of commentary, which, in the main, seeks to unfold the meaning of the obscure phrases of the basic text.

(v) न्यायप्रस्थानमार्गास्तानभ्यस्य स्वं च दर्शनम् ।

प्रणीतो गुरुणास्माकमयमागमसंग्रहः ॥

K. II, k. 490,

Banaras Edition, p. 286.

(vi) Even the third Kāṇḍa, according to the author, is merely an extended and detailed examination of the Āgamas that have been brought together in the first two Kāṇḍas—vide his remark :

वर्त्मनामत्र केषांचिद्वस्तुमात्रमुदाहृतम् ।

काण्डे तृतीये न्यक्षेण भविष्यति विचारणा ॥ K. II, k. 491, p. 286.

Puṇyārāja—'ततो नायमेतावान् व्याकरणागमसंग्रह इति', Ibid. p. 286.

(vii) His attitude to Āgama is unmistakably stated in the last two kārīkās of the second Kāṇḍa :

प्रज्ञा विवेकं लभते भिन्नैरागमदर्शनैः ।

कियद्वा शक्यमुन्नेतुं स्वतर्कमनुधावता ॥ 492. °

तत्तदुत्प्रेक्षमाणानां पुराणैरागमैर्विना ।

अनुपासितवृद्धानां विद्या नातिप्रसीदति ॥ 493, Ibid. °. 286.

³³ All the three commentators corroborate this fact, repeatedly. The following remark of Helārāja is a typical example :

'तदेतदागमोपबृंहितं शोभत इत्यागमरुचिरुपासितवृद्धानामुपदर्शयन् सर्वत्र प्रकारार्थः सादृश्यमित्यत्र भाष्यकारमतं संवादकमाह—'

K. III, Vr̥tti-samuddeśa, p. 271 (Trivandrum Ed.). Similarly, Puṇyārāja :

'नानाविधैरागमदर्शनैरागमसिद्धान्तैः श्रुत्युत्प्रेक्षा विवेकं लभते वैशारद्यमाप्नोति । तत्तद्वचः निःसंदिग्धं स्वसिद्धान्तमेव संपरिक्तं भिन्नैरागमदर्शनैः शक्तिर्जायते ।'

on k. 492, K. II, p. 287.

“ In illustration of the foregoing general considerations, we proceed to examine the Brahma-Kāṇḍa systematically, and consider specifically the so-called ‘interpolations’.

“ I. On pp. 6-8 :

यः सर्वकल्पानामाभासेऽप्यनवस्थितः।
 तर्कगमानुमानेन बहुधा परिकल्पितः ॥१॥
 व्यतीतो भेदसंसर्गो भावाभावौ क्रमाक्रमौ।
 सत्यानृते च विश्वात्मा प्रविवेकात्प्रकाशते ॥२॥
 अन्तर्यामी स भूतानामाराद् दूरे च दृश्यते।
 सोत्यन्तमुक्तो मोक्षाय मुमुक्षुभिरुपास्यते ॥३॥
 प्रकृतित्वमपि प्राप्तान्विकारानाकरोति सः।
 ऋतुधामेव ग्रीष्मान्ते महतो मेघसंप्लवान् ॥४॥
 तस्यैकमपि चैतन्यं बहुधा प्रविभज्यते।
 अंगारा किं तमुत्पाते वारिराशेरिवोदकम् ॥५॥
 तस्मादाकृतिगोत्रस्थाद् व्यक्तिग्राभाः विकारिणः।
 मास्तादिव जायन्ते वृष्टिमन्तो बलाहकाः ॥६॥
 त्रयीरूपेण तज्ज्योतिः परमं परिवर्तते।
 पृथक् तीर्थप्रवादिषु दृष्टिभेदनिबन्धनम् ॥७॥
 शान्तविद्यात्मकं योशः तदु हैतदविद्यया।
 तथा ग्रस्तमिवाजस्रं या निर्वक्तुं न शक्यते ॥८॥
 सर्वतः परिवर्तानां परिमाणं न विद्यते।
 तस्या या लब्धसंस्कारा न स्वात्मन्यवतिष्ठते ॥९॥
 यथा विशुद्धमाकाशं तिमिरोपप्लुतो जनः।
 संकीर्णमिव मात्राभिश्चित्राभिरभिमन्यते ॥१०॥
 तथेदममृतं ब्रह्म निर्विकारमविद्यया।
 कलुषत्वमिवापन्नं भेदरूपं विवर्तते ॥११॥
 ब्रह्मेदं शब्दनिर्माणं शब्दशक्तिनिबन्धनम्।
 विवृत्तं शब्दमात्राभ्यस्तास्वेव प्रविलीयते ॥१२॥

These kārīkās, twelve in number, must be regarded as forming part of the main text on the following two grounds :—

(i). Vṛṣabhadeva regards them as such.^{3.1}

Even Pt. Chātu. Deva has to admit this : ‘अस्य श्लोकस्य टीका-संदर्भप्रतीतिरिति ज्ञायते. यद् इयं टीका कृद् वृषभः कारिकाणां कर्तुः कृति मन्थो’.
 Note 9, p. 8.

(ii) Some of the Kārikās of this group have been cited by later writers in Bhartṛhari's name. Nos. 4 and 5 have been quoted by Mallavādin,³⁵ Nos. 10 and 11 by Vālideva Sūri³⁶ and by Mallavādin,³⁷ and No. 12 by Puṇyarāja.³⁸

II. On p. 56 :

अविभक्तं विभक्तेभ्यो जायतेऽर्थस्य वाचकः ।

शब्दस्तत्रार्थरूपात्मा सम्भेदमुपगच्छति ॥

This kārīkā has been declared by the editor to be an interpolation. It is, however, part of the text, because : (i) all manuscripts except that of the Sanskrit College, Banaras, No. 112, treat it as such;³⁹ (ii) Vṛṣabhadeva comments on it as part of the text;⁴⁰ (iii) it forms the first part of a 'yugmaka', and the author explains it along with k. 45 in the *vr̥tti* following;⁴¹ and (iv) it has also been noticed by the commentator Puṇyarāja.⁴²

III. On p. 78 :

शब्दस्य ग्रहणे हेतुः प्राकृतो ध्वनिरिष्यते ।

स्थितिभेदे निमित्तत्वं वैकृतः प्रतिपद्यते ॥

This kārīkā, wrongly condemned as an interpolation by the editor, must be regarded to form part of the text on the following grounds :—

(i) It occurs in the text in all manuscripts.⁴³

(ii) Puṇyarāja treats it as part of the text.⁴⁴

³⁵ Dvādaśāra-naya-cakram, Vol. I, pp. 299-300, (Chhani Ed.).

³⁶ Pramāṇa-naya-tattvālokāla kāra, on l. 7, p. 91 (Poona Ed.).

³⁷ Dvādaśāra-naya-cakram, Vol. I, p. 299.

³⁸ In *ṭīkā* on I. 1, p. 2, with the remark : 'उक्तं च'.

³⁹ Vide the editor's comment 'अयं श्लोकः कः इति संज्ञा कोशं वर्जयित्वा सर्वेषु कोशेषु मूलकारिकासु मध्ये प्रक्षिप्त उपलभ्यते।' Note 9, p. 56.

⁴⁰ Ibid. p. 56. The phrases 'अविभक्तः' and 'विभक्तेभ्यो' have been explained.

⁴¹ On p. 20, Banaras Edition.

⁴² See the *vr̥tti* on pp. 56-57 on k. 45.

⁴³ Vide note (3) on p. 79, Lahore Edition.

⁴⁴ See p. 30 of the Banaras Edition.

(iii) It has been expressly attributed to Bhartṛhari by Nāgeśa who cites it.⁴⁵

(iv) The fact that it is a quotation by Bhartṛhari from the Saṅgraha-kāra,⁴⁶ is only a proof in support of the view stated above that the *Vākya-padīya* is replete with citations.⁴⁷

IV. On p. 88 :

ज्ञेयेन न विना ज्ञानं व्यवहारेऽवतिष्ठते ।

नालब्धक्रमया वाचा कश्चिदर्थोभिधीयते ॥

This kārīkā, relegated to the *vṛtti* by the editor, must be included in the text on the following grounds :—

(i) It forms the second kārīkā of a 'yugmaka', of which the first is k. 87. The problem is concluded in the present kārīkā.

(ii) It has been commented upon by Vṛṣabhadeva.⁴⁸

(iii) Puṇyarāja has noticed it after commenting on k. 87, with the significant remark : 'एवं हि आह', which clearly implies that it is by Bhartṛhari himself.⁴⁹

V. On p. 104 :

आत्मा बुद्ध्या समर्थ्यार्थान्मनो युक्ते विवक्षया ।

मनः कायाग्निमाहन्ति स प्रेरयति मास्तम् ॥

This kārīkā, regarded erroneously to be an interpolation, must form part of the main text on the following grounds :—

⁴⁵ In *Uddyota* on *Pradīpa* on 1.1.69, with the remark : 'तदुक्तं हरिणा. He also cites the first half of k. 78 : 'शब्दस्योर्ध्वमभिव्यक्ते-वृत्तिभेदाय वृत्तः' *Mahābhāṣya*, with *Pradīpa* and *Uddyota*, Vol. I, p. 519, Nirṇaya Sāgar Press Ed., 1938.

⁴⁶ Bhartṛhari himself in the *vṛtti* attributes it to the Saṅgraha-kāra : 'एवं हि संग्रहकारः पठति', p. 78 (Lahore Ed.). Vāidīva Sūri also ascribes it to the same author : यदाह संग्रहकारः, *Pramāṇa-naya-tat-tvāloka-kārīkā*, on 4. 10, p. 654, (Poona Ed.).

⁴⁷ Even Pt. Chāru Deva does not condemn k. 88 as an interpolation on this ground, for he is aware that it is a kārīkā cited from the Saṅgraha by Bhartṛhari. Vāidīva Sūri in *Pr.-naya-tatt.*, on 4. 10, p. 649 expressly ascribes it to the former, with the following remark : यदाह संग्रहकारः,

⁴⁸ p. 88. The phrases—'ज्ञेयेन न विना' has been explained.

⁴⁹ On p. 33 of the Banaras Edition.

- (i) It is treated as such in several manuscripts.⁵⁰
- (ii) The author is stating the various Āgamas on the topic under discussion, which has been initiated in k. 108. The later kārīkās—Nos. 109-118—are simply specific illustrations. It is incredible that while the lesser traditions of the Śikṣā-kāras have been incorporated in the main text (ks. 109-116, and ks. 117-118), the view of Ācārya Pāṇini could be ignored by our author. In fact, the relevant portion of the *vṛtti* on k. 116 leads us to conclude that this kārīkā formed part of the text.⁵¹

(iii) It has also been noticed by Puṇyarāja, who introduces it with the significant remark : ‘आचार्यः खल्वप्याह’,⁵²

VI. On p. 114 :

अर्थक्रियासु वाक् सर्वा समीहयति देहितः ।

तदुत्क्रान्ती विसंज्ञोऽयं दृश्यते काष्ठकुड्यवत् ॥

The editor has wrongly weaned this kārīkā from the main text and relegated it to the *vṛtti* portion on the preceding kārīkā. The reasons for including it in the main text are :—

(i) It is regarded as part of the text by both the commentators—Vṛṣabhadeva⁵³ and Puṇyarāja⁵⁴.

(ii) It concludes the point introduced in the preceding kārīkā by the author.

(iii) It is found in the main text in most of the manuscripts⁵⁵.

⁵⁰ Vide the editor's comment : इदमुदीच्येषु कोशेषु कारिकासु मध्ये प्रक्षिप्तम्, note 9, on p. 104.

⁵¹ ‘आचार्यः खल्वप्याह’, p. 104. Similarly, about k. 117 his remark is ‘अथापर आगमोऽनुगम्यते’, p. 105.

⁵² On p. 43 of the Banaras Edition.

⁵³ See p. 114, Lahore Edition.

⁵⁴ See p. 48, Banaras Edition.

⁵⁵ See note 3 on p. 114 (Lahore Ed.) and note 3 on p. 48 (Banaras Edition).

VII. On p. 115 :

भेदोद्ग्राहविवर्तने लब्धाकारपरिग्रहा ।
 आम्नाता सर्वविद्यासु वागेव प्रकृतिः परा ॥१॥
 एकत्वमनतिक्कान्ता वाङ्मेत्रा वाङ्निबन्धना ।
 पृथक् प्रत्यवभासन्ते वाग्विभागा गवादयः ॥२॥
 षड्वारां षड्विष्टानां षट्प्रबोधां षड्व्ययाम् ।
 ते मृत्युमतिवर्तन्ते ये वै वाचमुपासते ॥३॥

These *kārikās*, though relegated to the *vr̥tti* portion by the editor, must be regarded to form part of the main text, for—

- (i) They occur as such in several manuscripts.⁵
- (ii) Vṛṣabhadeva regards them as part of the text and comments on them systematically.⁷
- (iii) He refers to the portions of *kārikās* occurring later in the *Vākyapadīya*⁸ where the author would take up a detailed discussion of the issues briefly incorporated here.
- (iv) Bhartṛhari introduces these *kārikās* with the following decisive and clear remark, which indicates that a new point is being introduced : 'वाकतत्त्वरूपमेव चित्तक्रियारूपमित्यन्ये । तथाह—'⁵⁹
- (v) He also explains them in the *vr̥tti* portion⁶⁰, thus leaving one in no doubt that they are part of the main text.

⁵⁶ See note 2 on p. 115 (Lahore Ed.).

⁵⁷ See the *śikā* beginning with भेदोद्ग्राह (p. 114) up to 'स्वरूपविषयभेदात्' (p. 115).

⁵⁸ यथा वक्ष्यति—स्वभावचरणाम्यासयोगादृष्टोपपादिताम् ।

विशिष्टोपगतां चेति प्रतिभां षड्विधां विदुः ॥

This is k. 154 of the second Kāṇḍa. Again : अथवा वाचकान्यत्वादिभेदो वक्ष्यमाणः । p. 115 (Lahore Ed.).

⁵⁹ Ibid. p. 114.

⁶⁰ 'प्रविभक्तसाध्यसाधनरूपो हि शब्दब्रह्मणो विवर्तः । प्राप्तजन्मादिविक्रियं वाग्विभागग्रन्थयो जागरणवृत्तिकाले वाग्युपतामनुगच्छन्तो निवृत्तिविक्रियाप्राप्तिभिः कार्येषु यतन्ते ।' Printed wrongly under k. 128 in the Lahore Ed., p. 115. It should be noted that this portion has no relation with the text of k. 115.

(vi) Puṇyarāja also notices these kārīkās, and makes the following prefatory remark : 'वायूपल्लवेव चितिक्रियारूपमित्येके । एवं हि आह' ⁶¹. In explanation, he cites the complete text of Bhartṛhari's own *vṛtti* referred to above in (v).

VIII. On p. 115 :

प्रविभज्यात्मनात्मानं सृष्ट्वा भवान्पृथग्विधान् ।
सर्वेश्वरः सर्वमयः स्वप्ने भोक्ता प्रवर्तते ॥

Once again, a kārīkā of the main text has been wrongly relegated to the *vṛtti* by the editor. The following facts should be noted :—

(i) It occurs as part of the text in several manuscripts.⁶²

(ii) Bhartṛhari introduces it with the clear remark : 'आह च'.⁶³

(iii) Vṛṣabhadeva treats it as part of the text and comments on it.⁶⁴

(iv) Puṇyarāja also notices it with the remark : 'एवं ह्याह'⁶⁵

(v) Rāmakaṇṭhācārya citing it in his *Spanda-Kārikā*, specifically ascribes it to Bhartṛhari.⁶⁶

IX. On p. 119 :

प्राणवृत्तिमतिक्रान्ते वाचस्तत्त्वे व्यवस्थितः ।
कमसंहारयोगेन संहृत्यात्मानमात्मनि ॥१॥
वाचः संस्कारमाधाय वाचं ज्ञाने निवेश्य च ।
विभज्य बन्धनान्यस्याः कृत्वा तां छिन्नबन्धनाम् ॥२॥
ज्योतिरान्तरमासाद्य छिन्नग्रन्थिपरिग्रहः ।
परेण ज्योतिर्गुह्यं कृत्वा ग्रन्थीन्प्रपद्यते ॥३॥

These kārīkās should form part of the main text on the following grounds :

(i) They occur as such in many manuscripts.⁶⁷

⁶¹ p. 48 of the Banaras Edition.

⁶² Note 7 on p. 115, Lahore Ed.

⁶³ Ibid. p. 115.

⁶⁴ Ibid, p. 115.

⁶⁵ See p. 49 of Banaras Edition.

⁶⁶ Vide note 7 on p. 115, Lahore Ed.

⁶⁷ Vide note 5 on p. 119 (Lahore Ed.).

(ii) Besides being commented upon by Vṛṣabhadeva,⁶⁸ who offers an explanation for the apparent repetitive character of the kārīkās when read after k. 132,⁶⁹ they have also been noticed by Puṇyārāja, who introduces them with the remark : 'आह च'⁷⁰

(iii) Bhartṛhari, too, introduces them with the remark : 'आह च'⁷¹

X. On p. 127 :

गौरिव प्रक्षरत्येका रसमुत्तमशालिनी ।
 दिव्यादिव्येन रूपेण भारती गौः शुचिस्मिता ॥१॥
 एतयोस्ततरं पश्य सूक्ष्मयोः स्पन्दमानयोः ।
 प्राणापानान्तरे नित्यमेका सर्वस्य तिष्ठति ॥२॥
 अन्या त्वप्रेर्यमाणेव विना प्राणेन वर्तते ।
 जायते हि ततः प्राणोवाचनाप्याययन्पुनः ॥३॥
 प्राणेनाप्यायिता सेयं व्यवहारनिबन्धना ।
 सर्वस्थोच्छ्वासमासाद्य न वाग्वदति कर्हिचित् ॥४॥
 घोषिणी जातिनिर्घोषा अघोषा च प्रवर्तते ।
 तयोरेषि च घोषिण्योर्निर्घोषेव गरीयसी ॥५॥

These kārīkās, though originally from the *Mahābhārata*,⁷² must have formed part of the main text, for :—

(i) There is a precedent in kārīkā 40 of this Kāṇḍa, which is from the *Mahābhārata*,⁷³ and yet part of the text.

⁶⁸ Ibid. p. 119.

⁶⁹ 'उक्तोप्यर्थः पुनरुपायभावेनोपात्तः' Ibid. p. 119. This remark would be superfluous, had these kārīkās been part of the *vṛtti*.

⁷⁰ p. 51 of the Banaras Edition.

⁷¹ p. 119 (Lahore Ed.).

⁷² (i) 'भारते हि वासुदेवेनार्जुनस्यैतदुपदिश्यते—' Vṛṣabha., p. 128. Lah. Ed.

(ii) 'तदुक्तमितिहासे आश्वमेधिके पर्वणि ब्राह्मणगीतासु—' Puṇyārāja, p. 56 (Banaras Ed.).

⁷³ On the evidence of Kumārila's *Śloka-vārttika* :

धौमिकाधार्मिकत्वाभ्यां पीडानुग्रहकारिणौ ।
 प्रसिद्धौ हि यथा चाह पाराशर्योऽत्र वस्तुनि ॥
 इदं पुण्यमिदं पद्ममित्येतस्मिन् पदद्वये ।
 आचार्यडालं मनुष्याणामलं शास्त्रप्रयोजनम् ॥

Again, in the second Kāṇḍa, we have another instance in kārīkā 142.⁷⁴

(ii) It is in accordance with Bhartṛhari's basic intention of bringing together the different Āgamas pertaining to his main problem. He introduces the kārīkā with the following remark : 'तस्या एव वाचो व्याकरणेन साधुत्वज्ञानलभ्येन वा बन्धपूर्वेण योगेनाधिगम्यत इत्येकेषामागमः। तथेतिहासेषु निदर्शनान्युपलभ्यन्ते—'.⁷⁵

(iii) They form part of the text in many manuscripts.⁷⁶

(iv) They have been treated as text by Vṛṣabhadeva who explains them systematically.

XI. On pp. 128-129 :

स्थानेषु विधृते वायौ कृतवर्णपरिग्रहा ।
 वैखरी वाक् प्रयोक्तृणां प्राणवृत्तिनिबन्धना ॥१॥
 केवलम्बुद्धयुपादाना क्रमरूपातुपातिनी ।
 प्राणवृत्तिमतिक्रम्य मध्यमा वाक् प्रवर्तते ॥२॥
 अविभागा तु पश्यन्ती सर्वतस्संहतक्रमा ।
 स्वरूपज्योतिरेवान्तः सूक्ष्मा वागनपायिनी ॥३॥
 सेयमाकीर्यमाणानि नित्यमागन्तुकैर्मलैः ।
 अन्त्या कलेव सोमस्य नात्यन्तमभिभूयते ॥४॥
 तस्यां दृष्टस्वरूपायामधिकारो निवर्तते ।
 पुरुषे षोडशकले तामाहुरमृतां कलाम् ॥५॥
 प्राप्तोपरागरूपा सा विप्लवैरनुषङ्गिभिः ।
 वैखरी सत्त्वमात्रेव गुणैर्न व्यवकीर्यते ॥६॥

These kārīkā, six in number, play a crucial role in all discussions regarding Bhartṛhari's theories, yet they have been relegated to the *vr̥tt* portion by our editor. The following considerations should lead us to the conclusion that they form part of the text :—

(i) They are introduced by the author with the distinct remark : 'पुनश्चाह'⁷⁷. This shows that while the pre-

⁷⁴ It is k. 66 of Adhy. 111 of Śānti-parva of the *Mahābhārata*.

⁷⁵ p. 127 (Lahore Edition).

⁷⁶ Note 8 on p. 127 (Lahore Ed.).

⁷⁷ p. 128 (Lahore Ed.).

ceding kārīkās were citations from the *Mahābhārata* (as shown in IX above), the author is resuming the thread of his discussion, introduced in k. 143, in the kārīkās following them.

(ii) He explains them in his *vr̥tt* beginning with the remark : 'सैवा त्रयो वाक् ..'⁷⁸

(iii) They are treated as text by Vṛṣabhadeva.

(iv) Puṇyārāja has noticed them with the following decisive remark 'पुनश्चाह'⁷⁹.

(v) They have been quoted as authoritative texts by reliable later writers in contexts where citations from Bhartṛhari can be definitely identified. The following, among others, should be noted : (a) Jayanta Bhaṭṭa in his *Nyāya-mañjarī*.⁸⁰ He has earlier cited kārīkā 125 of the first Kāṇḍa with the remark : 'यथोक्तम्'. The doctrine under discussion is the famous theory of Śabda-Brahman of our author. (b) Prabhācandra in his *Prameya-kaṃala-mār-taṇḍa*.⁸¹ Once again, the doctrine under discussion is that of Bhartṛhari. Earlier, several of his kārīkās⁸² have been cited. He makes the following introductory remark : 'ततोऽप्युक्तमेतत्तल्लक्षणप्रणयनम्'.⁸³ He is plainly ascribing these definitions to the same author who has been quoted earlier. There are important differences in readings, and in our opinion, Prabhācandra gives us a better text.⁸⁴ (c) Vāḍideva Sūri in his *Syādvāda-ratnākara*.⁸⁵ In a similar

⁷⁸ p. 130 (Lahore Ed.).

⁷⁹ p. 86 (Banaras Ed.).

⁸⁰ p. 343, Kashi Sanskrit Series, 1936, Vol. .I.

⁸¹ p. 42, Nirṇaya Sāgar Edition, 1941.

⁸² On p. 39, ks. 124-125 and 1 of Kāṇḍa I.

⁸³ p. 41, Ibid.

⁸⁴ After citing k. 1, he omits the first half of k. 2, and gives a kārīkā comprising the latter half of k. 2 and the first half of 3. The third kārīkā consists of the second half of k. 3 and the following additional line—'नया व्याप्तं जगत्सर्वं ततः शब्दशक्तं जगत् ।'

⁸⁵ On 1.7, pp. 89-90, (Poona Ed.).

context, ks. 1, 2, and 3 have been cited. Earlier, k. 124-125 of the *Vākya-pāṇīya*, Kāṇḍa I, have been quoted. Later on, in the same context, the opening kārīkā of the Brahma-kāṇḍa has been cited. (d) Nāgeśa in his *Udayota* on the *Pradīpa* of Kaiyaṭa on the *Mahābhāṣya*.⁸⁶ He cites only the latter half of No. 3, and the first half of No. 5 as one Kārīkā. Earlier, in the same context, he has cited k. 143 with the comment: 'हरिरप्याह'. In order to explain the phrase 'त्रया' of this, he cites the present kārīkā, with the concluding remark: 'इत्युक्ते.' (e) Vidyānandin in his *Tattvārtha-sloka-vārttika*.⁸⁷ Bhartṛhari is under discussion. The opening kārīkā of the Brahma-kāṇḍa of his *Vākya-pāṇīya* has been cited earlier.⁸⁸ Then follow the present citations. Nos. 1, 2, and 3 have been cited with the concluding remark: 'इति वचनात्' in each case. Evidently, Vidyānandin is quoting from the same source.

III

We now take up the larger question pertaining to the third Kāṇḍa. It is today widely believed, following the suggestions of Pt. Chāru Deva Śāstrī, that two Samuddeśas of this Kāṇḍa have been lost to us beyond any hope of recovery. The hypothesis, however, appears to be untenable, if all the relevant facts are taken into consideration.

The two sources of this hypothesis deserve careful scrutiny. The first is the following statement of Bhartṛhari: "तत्र द्वादश षट् चतुर्विंशतिर्वा लक्षणानीति लक्षणसमुद्देशे सापदेशं सविरोधं विस्तरेण व्याख्यास्येत।"⁸⁹

⁸⁶ On 1.1.1, p. 41, *Mahābhāṣya* with *Pradīpa* and *Udayota*, Vol. I, Nirṇaya Śāgar Edition, 1938.

⁸⁷ In Adhyāya I, Āhnika 3, lārikā 114, *ṭikā* portion, p. 241, Nirṇaya Śāgar Edition, 1918.

⁸⁸ In *ṭikā* on k. 103, Adhyāya I, Āhnika 1.

⁸⁹ *Vṛtti* on k. 76, Kāṇḍa II, p. 45, Lahore Edition.

The second source is Puṇyarāja's remarks :

(i) 'एतेषां च वितत्य सोपपत्तिकं सनिदर्शनं स्वरूपं पदकाण्डे लक्षणसमुद्देशे विनिर्दिष्टमिति ग्रन्थकृतैव स्मृतौ प्रतिपादितम् । आगमप्रशाललेखकप्रमादादिना वा लक्षणसमुद्देशश्च पदकाण्डगर्भे न प्रसिद्धः ।'⁹⁰

(ii) 'एषा च टीकाकृता स्ववृत्तौ सा च तुल्यबलेष्वसंभवादित्यादिना बहुप्रकारा दर्शिता । न चेयता प्रकाराणामस्यास्तेनाऽपि तत्र दर्शिता । यस्मादुक्तम्—सेय-मपरिमाणविकल्पा बाधा विस्तरेण बाधा-समुद्देशे समर्थयिष्यत इति ।'⁹¹

From the above, the conclusions have been drawn that (i) there were two Samuddeśas called 'Lakṣaṇa' and 'Bādha' respectively in the original text of the Pada-kāṇḍa; (ii) that of these two Samuddeśas, the Lakṣaṇa-samuddeśa had disappeared even in the days of Puṇyarāja, while Bādha-samuddeśa was still available ; and finally, (iii) that the extant text of the third Kāṇḍa is, therefore, incomplete.

None of these conclusions, however, are really conclusive. We have to face two crucial questions here. (i) What is the exact significance of the *vṛtti* fragments of Bhartṛhari, one of which is directly available, and the other of which has been cited by Puṇyarāja ? (ii) How far is the testimony of Puṇyarāja reliable, if it conflicts with other known facts and authorities ?

We take up the first question. It is extremely important to keep in mind the context of Bhartṛhari's remarks. He is engaged in presenting the Pūrva-pakṣa of the Pada-vādin Mīmāṃsaka, in the course of which, he is listing the various objections against the Akhaṇḍa-vāda of the Vaiyyākaraṇa. He makes the following revealing remark :

'सर्वन्यायलक्षणव्यवस्थाविरुद्धश्चायमविभागपक्षः'⁹². Then follows the crucial sentence : 'तत्र द्वादश षट् चतुर्विंशतिर्वा लक्षणानीति लक्षणसमुद्देशो मापदेशो विविरोधं विस्तरेण व्याख्यास्यते ।' The last sentence which serves to introduce the subsequent kārīkās, is equally significant : 'इदं तु प्रदर्शनार्थमुदाहरणमात्रं प्रसक्तानुप्रसक्तं च किञ्चिदुच्यते ।'

⁹⁰ In *ṭīkā* on k. 85, Kāṇḍa II, p. 101, Ban. Ed. and p. 46, Lah. Ed.

⁹¹ Ibid. p. 106, Bānāras Edition.

⁹² *Vṛtti* on k. 76, Kāṇḍa II, p. 45 (Lahore Edition).

The Pūrva-pakṣa-vādin maintains that the Avibhāga or Akhaṇḍa-pakṣa of the Vaiyākaraṇa is contradicted by all (a) Nyāya, (b) Lakṣaṇa and (c) Vyavasthā. The author then makes an explanatory remark on the phrase—'Lakṣaṇa'. In course of this, he indicates that the nature and number of 'Lakṣaṇa' will be discussed elsewhere in 'Lakṣaṇa-samuddeśa'. Finally, he is aware that there is no occasion for any such detailed discussion in the present context. He, therefore, proceeds to refer to them in brief in the succeeding few kārīkās, Nos. 77-87. He concludes the presentation of this extended objection in k. 88 thus :

इति वाक्येषु ये धर्माः पदार्थोपनिबन्धनाः ।

सर्वे ते न प्रकल्पेरन्वदं चेत्स्यादवाचकम् ॥⁹³

From this analysis of the context, it is evident that a detailed discussion of the nature and number of 'Lakṣaṇa' is out of place and irrelevant in the present context. In fact, it is the central problem of the parallel but independent discipline—the Mīmāṃsā.⁹⁴ Our author, therefore, rightly takes it up incidentally and deals with it in brief. It is important to remember that, throughout, the Pūrva-pakṣa is being presented here. Even in the presentation of the Pūrva-pakṣa, a detailed treatment of the 'Lakṣaṇas' has been regarded to be irrelevant and unnecessary. In the face of this circumstance, it is but reasonable to conclude that there can be no possible occasion for a systematic discussion of this problem anywhere in the Siddhānta-pakṣa. At any rate, if the total development of argument of the Pada-kāṇḍa is kept in mind, and attention is paid to the order of treatment of the various topics there, it is difficult to avoid the conclusion that there is no room for the discussion of any such problem there. This impression is corroborated by

⁹³ p. 58, Lahore Ed., p. 117, Ban. Ed., k. numbered as 89.

⁹⁴ Even Puṇyārāja accepts this : 'एतैश्च निज्ञातैर्वाक्यगोचरोऽर्थोऽस्मा यथावल्लक्ष्यते निश्चीयते इत्येतानि मीमांसकैर्लक्षणान्निवृत्त्युच्यन्ते ।' p. 46, Lahore Edition.

Heṭārāja, who does not feel any gap anywhere; nor does he seem to share Puṇyarāja's opinion that the 'Lakṣaṇa-samuddeśa' of this Kāṇḍa is missing. It is important to note that even Puṇyarāja realizes that the topic in its entirety is not altogether relevant in the present context. For, he is compelled to remark :

‘यद्यपि परेषां चोदनैव प्रमाणं प्रसिद्धं तथापिह टीकाकारो न्यायमात्रस्य प्रमाणत्वमङ्गीकरोति । अतः प्रकृतशास्त्रव्याख्योपयोगि तत्तत्स्थाने न्यायजातं प्रसज्य प्रतिषेधोऽयम् इत्यादिना प्रदर्शयति । एतदुक्तं भवति । पदपदार्थव्यवस्थापनाप्रस्तावे यो यः कश्चित्तद्व्यवस्थापने न्यायः प्रभवति स स कीर्तनीयः ।’⁹⁵

Finally, it should be noted that Bhartṛhari *does not* locate the 'Lakṣaṇa-samuddeśa' in the Pada-kāṇḍa, as alleged by Puṇyarāja.⁹⁶ The text of his *vṛtti* simply refers to 'Lakṣaṇa-samuddeśa'. Evidently, therefore, Puṇyarāja cannot claim Bhartṛhari's authority for locating it in the Pada-kāṇḍa.

And yet, as Bhartṛhari himself says it clearly, he did intend to write a 'Lakṣaṇa-samuddeśa', where this problem was to be discussed exhaustively. Evidently, this could not be done unless he were to write a work on the Mīmāṃsā. The present sentence is a reference, then, to the Lakṣaṇa-samuddeśa of his forthcoming book on the Mīmāṃsā. We know that the author of *Vākya-padīya* did write a *Bhāṣya* on the *Mīmāṃsā-Sūtra* also⁹⁷ The conclusion is irresistible that this 'Lakṣaṇa-samuddeśa' must have formed part of his *Mīmāṃsā-bhāṣya*.

This surmise is supported by another consideration. Puṇyarāja informs us⁹⁸ that in his *vṛtti* on kārīkā 77, where

⁹⁵ p. 48, Lahore Edition.

⁹⁶ It should be noted that there is another discrepancy between Puṇyarāja and the *vṛtti*. The former reads : 'सोपपत्तिकं सनिदर्शनं' where as Bhartṛhari says : 'सापदेशं सविरोधं'. There is a world of difference between 'सविरोधं' and 'सनिदर्शनं'. Puṇyarāja's reading is thoroughly corrupt. See note 111 *infra* for further criticism.

⁹⁷ Vide p. 51 of *Ācārya-puṣpāñjali Volume*—paper by Ram Krishna Kavi. Also Pt. Bhāgavadatta, *Vaidika Vāṇmaya kā Itihāsa*, Vol. I, Kāṇḍa 2, p. 206; Yūdhishthira, *Sans. Vyāk. Śās. kā Itihāsa*, p. 262.

⁹⁸ See text relating to footnote 91 *supra*.

there is reference to 'Bādha', Bhartṛhari has pointed out the various forms of Bādha in detail, though not *exhaustively*⁹⁹. On the contrary, he (Bhartṛhari) says that the problem will be explained and upheld in detail in the Bādha-samuddeśa. Now, can this 'Bādha-samuddeśa' be located in the *Vākya-padīya*? Puṇyarāja could not suggest the Pada-kāṇḍa; there is no room for any such problem in the Vākya-kāṇḍa; and the Brahma-kāṇḍa just cannot accommodate it. Why is he silent? Why does he not suggest that this 'Samuddeśa' also must have formed part of the Pada-kāṇḍa, as he did on the previous occasion about 'Lakṣaṇa-samuddeśa'? The reason is not difficult to discover, even though Puṇyarāja chooses to remain silent¹⁰⁰. By no stretch of logic or imagination can anybody suggest that the problem of 'Bādha' can fall within the compass of the problems discussed in the *Vākya-padīya*. It is distinctly and openly a problem, and an important one, of the Mīmāṃsā. We, therefore, conclude that Bhartṛhari is referring once again to a 'Samuddeśa' of his forthcoming work, the *Mīmāṃsā-bhāṣya*.

It remains to indicate the possible location of these two 'Samuddeśas' in the *Mīmāṃsā-bhāṣya* of our author. The 'Lakṣaṇa-samuddeśa', must have been primarily devoted to the discussion of (i) śruti, (ii) līṅga, (iii) vākya, (iv) prakaraṇa, (v) sthāna, and (vi) samākhyāna—the six well-known modes of interpretation of sentential meaning. To this list of primary Lakṣaṇas, others (briefly enumerated by the author in the *Vākya-padīya*) must have been added for making up the total of twenty-four. In the *Jaimini-Sūtra*, these Lakṣaṇas have been discussed individually in 3.3.1 to 3.3.13, and collectively again in 3.3.14. We, accordingly, suggest that

१०० 'न चेयता प्रकाराणामस्यास्तेनापि तत्र दर्शिता।' p. 50, Lah. Ed.

¹⁰⁰ Pt. Chāru Deva misunderstands this silence completely, and puts forward the unwarranted conclusion that 'Bādha-samuddeśa' did form part of the Pada-kāṇḍa in his days. One should have, in this event, expected a specific reference by Puṇyarāja to the Pada-kāṇḍa as its location.

the 'Lakṣaṇa-samuddeśa', referred to by Bhartṛhari, must have been written on 3.3.14. There is a valuable corroboration by Kumārila on this point. It would be recalled that Bhartṛhari has indicated that the problem of 'Lakṣaṇa' will be discussed 'with the necessary grounds' (sāpadeśam) and along with the mention of the oppositions ('savirodham')¹⁰¹. The phrase 'savirodham' is crucial. Kumārila seems to be aware of Bhartṛhari's discussion, for he refers to this method of interpretation, according to which 'virodha-grāhaṇa' is necessary in this context,¹⁰² though he does not specifically name him (kecid āhuḥ). Śabara in his 'bhāṣya' does not uphold this view, for he simply refers to the problem of their 'balābala', in the context of 'samavāya'.¹⁰³ It is, therefore, reasonable to conclude that Kumārila is here referring to the interpretation proposed by Bhartṛhari in the 'Lakṣaṇa-samuddeśa' of his 'Bhāṣya'.

As for the location of the 'Bādhā-samuddeśa', if we refer to Śabara's *Bhāṣya* and Kumārila's *Tantra-vārttika*, we find that the nature of 'Bādhā' has been incidentally taken

¹⁰¹ 'तत्र द्वादश षट् चतुर्विंशतिर्वा लक्षणानीति लक्षणसमुद्देशे सापदेशं सविरोधं विस्तरेण व्याख्यास्यते।' *Vṛtti* on k. 76 of Kāṇḍa II, p. 45, Lahore Ed.

¹⁰² 'इदानीं षण्णामपि श्रुत्यादीनां बलाबलं विचार्यते। तच्च भिन्न-विषयाणां न संभवतीति समवाय एकार्थोपनिपातो विषयत्वेनोदाहृतः।

तत्र केचिदाहुर्विरोधग्रहणं कर्तव्यमिति। कुतः।

क्रीणात्यरुणयेत्यत्र समवाये हि सत्यपि।

विरोधाभावतो नैव चिन्त्यन्ति बलाबलम्॥

एक एव ह्यरुणादिः शेषः श्रुत्या सामान्यक्रियासम्बन्धी, वाक्येन तद्विशेषस्य क्रयस्य, प्रकरणेन ज्यौतिष्टोमिकस्य। सत्यपि वाचनिकप्रकरणसमवाये पतस्पर-नुग्रहनिमित्तत्वाद्विरोध इति बलाबलविचारो न भवति। निर्विशेषसामान्यानुपपत्तेः। क्रयस्वरूपमात्रप्रयुक्तत्वे चानर्थकत्वादपेक्षिते हि श्रुतिवाक्याभ्यां वाक्यप्रकरणे। तस्मात् कर्तव्यं विरोधग्रहणमिति। न वा कर्तव्यम्। कुतः।.....

Tantra-vārttika on 8.3.14, p. 822, Vol. II, part I, Ānandāshram Sanskrit Series, 1930 Edition.

¹⁰³ 'तेषां समवाये किं गलीय इति चिन्त्यते'—*Bhāṣya* on 3.3.14, *Ibid.*, p. 822.

up¹⁰⁴ for systematic discussion under 3.3.14,¹⁰⁴ whereas the various details pertaining to 'Bādha' and 'Abhyuccaya' have been taken up in the 10th Adhyāya.¹⁰⁵ The Bādha-samuddeśa of Bhartṛhari, therefore, can be located either under 3.3.14, or 10.1.1. We are inclined to put it under the former rather than the latter. This will be in accordance with the practice of Śabara, Kumārila and Maṇḍana Miśra.¹⁰⁶ Besides, both Śabara's and Kumārila's treatment seems to suggest that the very concept of Bādha was under heavy fire at the hands of the critics of Mīmāṃsā. The need for a spirited defence and 'justification' of this important concept must have been acutely felt ever since the Buddhists came to dominate the philosophical scene.¹⁰⁷ Bhartṛhari came at a time when this challenge had been thrown decisively by his powerful predecessors and contemporaries like Vasubandhu and Dīnāga. One can hope to grasp the full implication of Bhartṛhari's phrase : 'समर्थयिष्यते'.¹⁰⁸ only against this background. His 'justification' and 'defence' of 'Bādha' must have been powerful indeed, for, his successor in the field—Kumārila—

¹⁰⁴ (i) 'अथ यत्तत्र तत्रोच्यते । इदमनेन बाध्यते इदमनेनेति । तत्र यद् बाध्यते तत्किं बाधकविषयं प्राप्तमुताप्राप्तमिति । किंचातः । यद्यप्राप्तम् किं बाध्यते । अथ प्राप्तम् कथं शक्यते बाधितुम् । प्राप्तं बाधकविषयं पूर्वविज्ञानमिति ब्रूमः । कथम् । समान्यस्य कारणस्य विद्यमानत्वात् ।', *Bhāṣya* on 3.3.14, *ibid*, pp. 858-59.

(ii) 'इदानीं बाधस्य स्वरूपमाक्षेपद्वारेण कथयति ।', p. 858, and प्रासंगिकमुक्तेदानीमधिकरणमुपसंहृत्याधिकरणान्तरमारभ्यते — *Tantra-vārttika* on the above (i), p. 862, *ibid*.

¹⁰⁵ 'ऊहो वृत्तः । बाधाम्युच्चयमिदानीं वर्तयिष्यामः । बाधो नाम यदेवेदमिति निश्चितं विज्ञानं कारणान्तरेण मिथ्येति कल्प्यते । तथा अम्युच्चयो यदिदमिह भवतीति विज्ञातेऽपरमपि भवतीति विज्ञानम् ।', *Bhāṣya* on 10.1.1, p. 179, Vol. V, Ānandāshram Series, 1933 Ed.

¹⁰⁶ Maṇḍana in his *Mīmāṃsānukramanikā* locates it under 3.3.14. Cf. 'बाधः प्राप्ते क्वचिद् भवेत् ।' p. 96., Chaukhambha Sanskrit Series, 1930 Ed.

¹⁰⁷ Of the many criticisms by the Buddhists, the one given by Prajñākaragupta in his *Pramāṇa-vārttikālankāra* may be treated as a classic illustration. See pp. 373 ff., *Pramāṇa-vārttika-bhāṣyam*, Patna, 1953.

¹⁰⁸ *Vṛtti* fragment, cited by Puṇyārāja, p. 106, Kāṇḍa II, Banaras Edition.

did not find it necessary to repeat the performance in any great detail.¹⁰⁹

Further, while explaining the phrases : 'अथ यत्त्र तत्रोच्यते इदमेतेन बाध्यते' of Śabara, Kumārila proceeds to give a remarkably long list of the various forms of 'Bādha', and we are tempted to put forward the surmise that he is once again writing with obvious reference to the detailed treatment of Bhartṛhari on the topic.¹¹⁰

We, have thus, successfully located the two Samyuddeśas—Lakṣaṇa and Bādha—referred to by Bhartṛhari-under Sūtra 3.3.14 of Jaimini. Our hypothesis must await final

¹⁰⁹ He devotes less than half a page to the Siddhānta portion in his *Tantra-vārttika*, p. 861, whereas two and a half pages (858-861) have been devoted to the building up of the Pūrva-pakṣa.

¹¹⁰ We cite the passage from *Tantra-vārttika* on 3.3.14 :

'प्रत्यक्षेणानुमानं, मृगतृष्णादि-प्रत्ययाश्च, यथास्वं षडभिरपि प्रमाणैः प्रमाणाभासः, श्रुत्या स्मृतिः, आप्ताविगतिस्मृत्याऽनाप्तविगतिस्मृतिः, अदृष्टार्थया दृष्टार्था, श्रुतिप्रभवया लिङादिप्रभवाऽर्थवादप्रभवा च, स्मृत्याप्यचारः, सोऽप्याभियुक्तराचारेण, सन्दिग्धमसंदिग्धेन, दुर्बलाश्रयं बलवदाश्रयेण, उपसंहारस्थमुपक्रमस्थेन, अत्यन्तादृष्टार्थं नियमादृष्टार्थेन, आरादुपकारकत्वं सामवायिकत्वेन, अनेकार्थविधानमेकार्थविधानेन, अनेकशब्दार्थत्वमेकशब्दार्थत्वेन, बहुबाधोऽल्पबाधेन, वेदान्तरोत्पन्नं वेदान्तरविहितत्वेन, परशाखाविहितं स्वशाखाविहिते, नित्यं नैमित्तिकेन, द्विप्रकारमप्येतत्कत्वर्थं पुरुषार्थेन, अनारभ्याधीतं प्रकरणाधीतेन, पौर्वापर्येण विरोधे पूर्वं परेण, प्राकृतं वैकृतेन, प्रयोगवचनाश्रितं चोदकाश्रयेण, निष्प्रयोजनं सप्रयोजनेन, ब्राह्मणक्रमो मन्त्रक्रमेण, देवताश्रयं द्रव्याश्रयेण, पश्चादाम्नातं पूर्वाम्नातेन, अल्पं भूयसा, गौणं मुख्येन, सामान्यविहितं विशेषविहितेन, सावकाशं निरवकाशेन, अंगं प्रधानेन, अंगधर्मः प्रधानधर्मेण, तत्सर्वमेव किं प्राप्तं बाध्यते, अथ श्रुत्यादिवदेवाप्राप्तमिति।' *Tantra-vārttika*, pp. 859-860, Vol. II, part I, 1930 Ed., Ānandāsharam Series.

It should be noted that there is no occasion for this enumeration if the intention is merely to explain Śabara's text, for these specific forms of 'Bādha' have nowhere been discussed by him. Bhartṛhari, on the other hand, seems to attach considerable importance to a detailed discussion of the various types, for even in his *vrtti* on k. 79 the second Kāṇḍa, where the topic crops up incidentally, he has listed the various forms (vide Puṇyarāja : 'एषा च टीकाकृता स्ववृत्तौ सा च तुल्यबलेष्वहंभवादित्यादिना बहुप्रकारा दक्षिता', *Tikā* on II. 74, p. 106). He was, however, not satisfied with this, for it was by no means exhaustive. He, accordingly, expresses his intention of taking up the problem in the Bādha-samyuddeśa (of his *Mīmāṃsābhāṣya*) 'in detail' (*viśtāreṇa*). Kumārila seems to have drawn upon this exhaustive 'Bādha-samyuddeśa' for this list here.

verification till the discovery and publication of Bhartṛhari's valuable '*Bhāṣya*' on the Mīmāṃsā. Meanwhile, we prefer to believe, on the grounds adduced to above, that the Pada-kāṇḍa of his *Vākya-pāṇḍya* did not contain these two Samuddeśas, and is complete, so far as the total list of Samuddeśas goes. Before we conclude, one last difficulty about our hypothesis, however, has to be met and removed. What about Puṇyarāja's testimony to the effect that the 'Lakṣaṇa-samuddeśa' was part of the Pada-kāṇḍa? He bases his conclusion on the alleged *vr̥tti* declaration of Bhartṛhari. But, as we have shown earlier, the latter *does not* make any such declaration. His *vr̥tti* is unambiguous and decisive. Puṇyarāja, therefore, seems to have been misled into his erroneous observation either by a trick of his memory or some faulty manuscript of Bhartṛhari's *vr̥tti*. We rule out the former. That he was familiar with the *vr̥tti*, we have no reason to doubt, for he has specifically cited fragments from it. His manuscript, however, seems to have read : एतेषां च. वित्त्य सोपपत्तिकं सनिदर्शनं स्वरूपं पदकाण्डे लक्षणसमुद्देशे विनिर्दिष्टम् in place of the correct text : तत्र.....इति लक्षणसमुद्देशे सापदेशं सविरोधं विस्तरेण व्याख्यास्यते । 'The fiction about the 'Lakṣaṇa-samuddeśa' forming part of the Pada-kāṇḍa is no better founded. Its source is the thoroughly corrupt reading of Bhartṛhari's *vr̥tti*-text. The first victim to this corrupt reading seems to have been Puṇyarāja, while the latest one, my learned friend—Pt. Chāru Deva Sāstrī.

¹¹ 'विनिर्दिष्टम्', implies that Pada-kāṇḍa *precedes* the Vākya-Kāṇḍa, where this *vr̥tti* fragment occurs. This is, plainly, *absurd*. No better proof of the spurious character of this reading can be offered. See Footnote 96 *supra*.

A FORGOTTEN CHAPTER OF THE HISTORY OF ANCIENT INDIAN ASTRONOMY

By PROF. TARAKESHWAR BHATTACHARYYA

(Continued from Vols. XI-XII, p. 54)

SECTION 2

WE shall try to see in the following pages how the
Changes in standard group :— effects standard grouping of the nakṣatras suffered
 changes in later times along with other
 allied topics.

In the *Kṛṣṇa-Yajur-Veda*¹ and *Taittirīya Brāhmaṇa*,² we have lists of the 27 nakṣatras, all beginning from Kṛttikā. From our previous discussions we know that the first points of these nakṣatras were exactly as were fixed in the standard epoch 3054 B. C.

In the *Mahābhārata* we have two lists of months given in chapters 106 and 109 of the Anuśāsana Parva. The year could be begun either from the vernal equinox or from the autumnal equinox, referred to the year 3054 B. C., that is, either from the month of Jyeṣṭha or from the month of Mārgaśīrṣa. The *Mahābhārata*, according to the earlier tradition, followed the latter system. In the *Śrīmad-Bhagavad-gītā* also, we have reference to the effect that Mārgaśīrṣa was recognised as the first month. From the name, Jyeṣṭhā-Mūla, for the month Jyeṣṭha, in the *Mahābhārata*, we understand that the original grouping of the epoch 3054 B. C., was still followed by some section of people in the time of Yudhiṣṭhira.

There are two lists of nakṣatras in the *Mahābhārata*. In both the lists, we have the nakṣatra Abhijit to have been included, making the total number of nakṣatras 28. The *Atharva-Veda* also gives the list of 28 nakṣatras⁴ including

¹ *Taittirīya-Saṃhitā*, 4.4.10. 1—3.

² *Taittirīya-Brāhmaṇa*, 1.5.1.

³ Chapters 64 and 80 of Anuśāsana Parva.

⁴ *Atharva-Veda*, 19.7.

Abhijit as one. But from the statement of Mārkaṇḍeya in the *Mahābhārata*,⁵ we know that the vernal equinox was no longer in the nakṣatra Kṛttikā, before the time of Yudhiṣṭhira and that Abhijit was accepted as one of the nakṣatras. The intention of this change and the results thereof, are explained below :

“People were accustomed in the Kṛttikā period (i.e. when the vernal equinox was in the nakṣatra Kṛttikā) to see the vernal equinox to be always associated with the nakṣatra Kṛttikā. Now, when the vernal equinox crossed the first point of Kṛttikā and shifted backward into Bharanī, they still wanted to retain the association of Kṛttikā with the vernal equinox and to get the first point of Kṛttikā to be extended backward by some makeshift, if possible. A school of astronomers of the time favoured this and the idea was put into effect, by inclusion of Abhijit into the previous system of 27 nakṣatras, as an additional one, making the system thereby to consist of 28 nakṣatras.

The addition of a nakṣatra would necessarily change the configuration of the former system. Time was expressed in those days in terms of *tithis* and nakṣatras, that is, by the positions of the sun and the moon in respect to the nakṣatras. Now, the question arose how one was to know when a particular nakṣatra would exactly commence or end, in the present system; for this purpose, the first point of nakṣatra Dhanīṣṭhā (in the new system of 28 nakṣatras) was kept undisturbed and identical with that of the older system of 27 nakṣatras. The beginnings and the ends of the other nakṣatras were then taken at equal distances of 90° per nakṣatra, along the circle of ecliptic. Thus, when the first point of Dhanīṣṭhā was fixed, the beginnings and the ends of the other nakṣatras and also the corresponding times of the entry of the sun and the moon therein got automatically fixed. This is why it has been stated, in the Mārkaṇḍeya-

FORGOTTEN CHAPTER OF ANCIENT INDIAN ASTRONOMY 83

statement, that “वनिष्ठादि तदा कालो ब्रह्मणा परिकल्पितः” : Due to this regrouping of nakṣatras, the star Jyeṣṭhā, which so long marked the first point of the nakṣatra Jyeṣṭhā, was shifted to the east by $10^{\circ} 34'$ and expressed as “रोहिणी ह्यभवत् पूर्वमे” in the same statement.

The following will show the grouping of the system of 28 nakṣatras and point out how they differ from the original standard grouping and how they violate the principle underlying the month names.

TABLE XII
Nakṣatra Groups in the 16th cent. B.C.

Nos.	Groups	Nakṣatras	Nos.	Groups	Nakṣatras
1	Citrā	$\frac{1}{3}$ Citrā, Swātī,	7	Aświnī	$\frac{1}{3}$ Revatī, Aświnī,
2	Viśākhā	Viśākhā Anurādhā,	8	Kṛttikā	Kṛttikā, Rohi-
		Jyeṣṭhā,			nī
3	Jyeṣṭhā-Mūlā	$\frac{1}{3}$ Mūlā	9	Mṛgaśīrā	$\frac{1}{3}$ Mṛgaśīrā
		$\frac{2}{3}$ Mūlā, Pūrvā-			$\frac{2}{3}$ Mṛgaśīrā
		śādhā			Ārdrā
4	Āśādhā	$\frac{2}{3}$ Uttarāśādhā	10	Puṣyā	$\frac{2}{3}$ Punarvasu
		$\frac{1}{3}$ Uttarāśādhā,			$\frac{1}{3}$ Punarvasu,
		Abhijit, Śra-			Puṣyā, Aśleṣā
		vaṇā			
5	Sraviṣṭhā	Dhaniṣṭhā	11	Maghā	Maghā, Pūrva-
		Satabhiṣā			Phalgunī
		$\frac{1}{3}$ Pūrvabhādra			$\frac{1}{3}$ Uttara-
6	Bhādrapada	$\frac{2}{3}$ Pūrvabhādra	12	Phālgunī	Phalgunī
		Uttarabhādra			$\frac{2}{3}$ Uttara-
		$\frac{2}{3}$ Revatī			Phalgunī,
					Hastā,
					$\frac{2}{3}$ Citrā

It will be seen from the above table that four of the indicator nakṣatras have been split up and placed in two consecutive groups showing that they are no longer indicators. The nakṣatra Viśākhā has fallen in the Citrā group, so that even when a full-moon occurred in Viśākhā, the month was to be called Caitra and not Vāśākha. The same is the case with the nakṣatra Jyeṣṭhā. It has fallen in group Viśākhā.

With a full-moon in Jyēṣṭhā the corresponding month was to be called Vaiśākha. Hence, the present grouping was totally arbitrary.

Abhijit was not retained as a nakṣatra for a long time. It was introduced to the nakṣatra system at the beginning of the 16th cent. B.C., but was rejected in 1353 B.C., when another epoch was started. It is generally known as the Dhaniṣṭhādi epoch. A different grouping of the nakṣatras was then made. This was, likely, done in the time of Janamejaya, the son of Parikṣit. This new grouping was followed for about 1700 years, until it was replaced by another in the time of Gupta Emperors, in the 4th century A.D., to which we shall come later.

With the elimination of Abhijit, the star Jyēṣṭhā was restored to its original position, that is, at the beginning of the nakṣatra Jyēṣṭhā (the standard initial point). But the new grouping of the nakṣatras still remained much different from the original, as is shown in the following Table.

TABLE XIII
Nakṣatra Groups in 1353 B.C. (Dhaniṣṭhādi System)

Nos.	Groups	Nakṣatras	Nos.	Groups	Nakṣatras
1	Citrā	Citrā, Swātī,	7	Aświni	$\frac{1}{2}$ Revatī, Aświni,
2	Viśākhā	$\frac{1}{4}$ Viśākhā	8	Kṛttikā	$\frac{3}{4}$ Bharanī, $\frac{1}{4}$ Bharanī, Kṛttikā, Rohiṇī
3	Jyēṣṭhā	$\frac{3}{4}$ Viśākhā, Anurādhā,	9	Mṛgaśirā	Mṛgaśirā, Ārdrā
4	Āṣāḍha	$\frac{1}{2}$ Jyēṣṭhā	10	Puṣyā	$\frac{1}{4}$ Punarvasu
5	Śraviṣṭhā	$\frac{1}{2}$ Jyēṣṭhā, Mūlā,	11	Maghā	$\frac{3}{4}$ Punarvasu, Puṣyā
6	Bhādrapada	$\frac{3}{4}$ Pūrvāṣāḍhā	12	Phalgunī	$\frac{1}{2}$ Aśleṣā
		$\frac{1}{4}$ Pūrvāṣāḍhā,			$\frac{1}{2}$ Aśleṣā, Maghā
		Uttarāṣāḍhā,			$\frac{3}{4}$ Pūrva-Phalgunī
		Śravaṇā			$\frac{1}{4}$ Pūrva-Phalgunī, Uttara-Phalgunī, Hastā
		Dhaniṣṭhā Śatabhiṣā,			
		$\frac{1}{4}$ Pūrvabhādra			
		$\frac{3}{4}$ Pūrva-Bhādra,			
		Uttara-Bhādra,			
		$\frac{1}{2}$ Revatī			

This new grouping is decidedly better than that of the Table XII. All the indicator nakṣatras except only Viśākhā and Jyeṣṭhā, are here full and complete in their respective groups. The month Vaiśākha was now considered to begin with the sun's crossing the end of the third quarter of Bharaṇī which marked the beginning of the Kṛttikā group in the Dhaniṣṭhādi system.

In our time, the sun crossed the end of the third quarter of Bharaṇī at 4^h 28^m P.M. of the 6th May, of 1953 A.D., when the tropical longitude of the sun was 45° 47'. The civil first day of Vaiśākha in 1953 A.D., therefore fell on the 7th of May, whereas the Vaiśākha in the standard system of grouping (Table V), would begin with the sun's crossing the end of the first quarter of Bharaṇī. This corresponds to 0^h 19^m A.M. of the 30th April, 1953, when the sun's longitude (tropical) was 39° 7'. The civil first day of Vaiśākha therefore, began on the next day, the 1st of May.

If the new epoch were started in 870 B.C., instead of in 1353 B.C., we would have correct grouping of the nakṣatras and the first of Vaiśākha in that case, would conform to that of the standard epoch of 3054 B. C. The result of shifting the first of Vaiśākha was that beginnings of all other months were advanced by about 7 days in each case.

But in spite of this difference, between the new system and the older standard one, the former was followed scrupulously by people in later times, for about 1800 years, as is evidenced by astronomical records, in the ancient works, such as, Baudhāyana-Śrautasūtra, Kātyāyana-Śrauta-Sūtra, Chronological statements left in the early Jaina and Buddhist records, the Kharoṣṭhī inscriptions of the Maurya and Kusan periods, and the definite reference to it in the Pāitāmaha-Siddhānta and in the Pauliṣa-Siddhānta as described by Varāhamihira in his Pañca-Siddhāntikā. We shall revert to it a little later, after finishing our review of the next grouping, made in about 337 A.D.

We have already stated in the first Section that a fresh epoch was started by 337 A.D., when the vernal equinox reached the first point of Aświnī, which was behind the equinox of 1353 B.C., by $23^{\circ} 20'$, or behind the equinox of 3054 B.C. by $46^{\circ} 40'$. The solar month of Vaiśākha was then begun to be considered to begin with the sun's entry into the standard nakṣatra Aświnī. The following grouping of the nakṣatras was then introduced :

TABLE XIV
Nakṣatra Groups in 337 A.D.

Nos.	Groups	Nakṣatras	Nos.	Groups	Nakṣatras
1	Citrā	$\frac{3}{4}$ Uttara-Phalgunī, Hastā,	7	Aświnī	$\frac{1}{4}$ Pūrva-Bhādra,
		$\frac{1}{2}$ Citrā			Uttara-Bhādra,, Revatī
2	Viśākhā	$\frac{1}{2}$ Citrā, Swātī,	8	Kṛttikā	Aświnī, Bharanī
		$\frac{3}{4}$ Viśākhā			$\frac{1}{4}$ Kṛttikā
3	Jyēṣṭhā	$\frac{1}{4}$ Viśākhā, Anurādhā, Jyēṣṭhā	9	Mṛgaśīrā	$\frac{3}{4}$ Kṛttikā, Rohiṇī, $\frac{1}{2}$ Mṛgaśīrā
4	Āṣāḍha	Mūlā-Pūrvāṣāḍhā,	10	Puṣyā	$\frac{1}{2}$ Mṛgaśīrā,
		$\frac{1}{4}$ Uttarāṣāḍhā			Ārdrā,
5	Sraviṣṭhā	$\frac{3}{4}$ Uttarāṣāḍhā, Śravaṇā,	11	Maghā	$\frac{3}{4}$ Punarvasu,
		$\frac{1}{2}$ Dhaniṣṭhā.			$\frac{1}{4}$ Punarvasu,
6	Bhādrapada	$\frac{1}{2}$ Dhaniṣṭhā, Śatabhiṣā,	12	Phalgunī	Puṣyā,
		$\frac{3}{4}$ Pūrva-Bhādra			Aśleṣā
					Maghā,
					Pūrva-Phalgunī
					$\frac{1}{4}$ Uttara-Phalgunī

In the above grouping it will be seen that seven indicator nakṣatras, viz., Citrā, Viśākhā, Uttarāṣāḍhā, Dhaniṣṭhā (Sraviṣṭhā), Kṛttikā, Mṛgaśīrā and Uttara-phalgunī have been split up and placed in two consecutive groups, and hence they have lost their significance and have ceased to be indicators. The nakṣatras—Aświnī, Puṣyā, Maghā and Uttara-Bhādrapada, though full, are not in their own groups. If

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a full-moon occurs in Aświnī, the corresponding month name would not now be Āświna in this arrangement, but would be Kārtika; similarly with the full-moon in Puṣyā, Māgha and Uttara-Bhādrapada, the corresponding months, instead of being Pauṣa, Māgha and Bhādra would now be called Māgha, Phālguna, and Āświna, respectively. This system is still continuing throughout India. A concrete example, from one of the Indian almanacs for 1953 A.D., is given below which will show the incongruity of the arrangement of nakṣatras in the above grouping.

TABLE XV

Months and Nakṣatras at Full-Moon in 1953 A.D.

Nos.	Full-Moon in Nakṣatras	Indian Month Date	English Month Date	Corresponding months accord- ing to stand- ard group
1	Swātī	Vaiśākha 16th	April 53 29th	Caitra
2	Anurādhā	Jyeṣṭha 14th	May 28th	Vaiśākha
3	Mūlā	Āṣāḍha 13th	June 27th	Jyeṣṭha
4	Uttarāṣāḍhā	Śrāvaṇa 10th	July 26th	Āṣāḍha
5	Dhaniṣṭhā	Bhādra 8th	August 24th	Śrāvaṇa
6	Uttara-Bhādra	Āświna 7th	September 23rd	Bhādra
7	Aświnī	Kārtika 5th	October 22nd	Āświna
8	Kṛttikā	Mārgaśīrṣa 4th	November 20th	Kārtika
9	Mārgaśīrā	Pauṣa 5th	December 20th	Mārgaśīrṣa
10	Puṣyā	Māgha 5th	January 54 19th	Pauṣa
11	Maghā	Phālguna 5th	February 17th	Māgha
12	Uttara-Phlāg.	Caitra 5th	March 19th	Phālguna

From the above grouping, it is perfectly clear that the present month-names, viz., Vaiśākha, Jyeṣṭha, Āṣāḍha, Śrāvaṇa, etc., are not derived from the corresponding nakṣatras, viz., Viśākhā, Jyeṣṭhā, Uttarāṣāḍhā, Śrāvaṇhā (Dhaniṣṭhā) etc. Hence, there is no sense in retaining these names now. The authors of this system knew of this and there is reason to believe that they tried to overcome this difficulty in a partial way. We shall come to this question again, in our next discussion.

In previous section we have seen, in connection with Cāturmāsya, and Śunāṣīra rites, that the old lunar year ended and the new lunar year began in the Vedic times, in the full-moon in the nakṣatra Uttara-Phalguṇā. In the standard year 3045 B.C., we have seen that the full-moon occurred on the 19th Phālguna (solar). Therefore, this Phālguna lunar month began by the 19th of solar Māgha. Again, the lunar Caitra began on the 20th of solar Phālguna and ended by the 19th of solar Caitra. Thus, *the rule was that the lunar month was to be named after the month in which it ended and not after the month in which it began.* This rule is being partly followed even now, in the well-known *Badi-Sudi* system of lunar months. Again, as the lunar month, Phālguna, ended with the full-moon, the lunar Caitra necessarily began from the first day of the dark-half of the lunar Caitra. Thus, the rule for the arrangement of a lunar month was that *the first part of a lunar month should be the dark-half and the latter part, the bright-half, i.e., in the Vedic times the lunar month began with the dark-half (कृष्णपक्ष) and ended with bright-half.* These two rules were implicitly followed for more than 3300 years, until they were replaced by other rules, in or about 337 A.D., when the first point of Aświnī was accepted as the initial point, and the Amānta lunar months were introduced in order to get rid of the difficulty that arose out of the acceptance of this new (Aświnyādi) system as will be explained in Section 3.

Let us come to the time of the *Mahābhārata*. In Anuśāsanā Parva we have in connection with rites relating to gifts, मासार्धे कृष्णपक्षस्य कुर्यान्निरवपणानि वै. Nilakanṭha interprets it as “मासार्धे अमावास्यायां कृष्णपक्षस्य इति उक्ते न अत्र शुक्लादिमासः विवक्षितः.” *(Translation:—The ‘Nirvapaṇa’ ceremony should be performed at the end of the first half of the lunar month, that is, in the Amāvāsyā.)*

⁶ Chapter 92, Verse 19

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3. Nilakaṇṭha's interpretation says :—As the term 'mā-sārdha' is spoken of, as belonging to the dark-half, it was the new-moon day, and hence, the lunar month began with the dark-half and not with the bright-half, implying thereby that the lunar months, in the *Mahābhārata* times were full-moon ending and not new-moon ending.

In the very widely known statement of Bhīṣma, on the date of his expiry,⁷ we have :—

पैरिवृत्तो हि भगवान् सहस्रांशुर्दिवाकरः ।

.....

माघोज्यं समनुप्राप्तो मासः सौम्यो युधिष्ठिर ।

त्रिभागशेषः पक्षोज्यं शुक्लो भवितुमर्हति ॥

(Translation.—The thousand rayed sun has certainly turned north. . . . O Yudhiṣṭhira, the month of solar Māgha has just set in and the three fourths of the lunar month has been over; this is the Śukla-pakṣa or the bright-half of the lunar month (that is, the *tithi* on this day is the Śukla-eighth.)

This gives us the following information⁸:

(1) Bhīṣma died on the southern solstice day. (This happened on January 2, 1431 B. C.)

(2) It was on the first day of the solar Māgha.

(3) The *tithi*, on the day of expiry, was Śukla 8th (eighth day of the bright-half, at the end of the three quarters of the lunar month). Hence, this lunar month began with the Kṛṣṇa-pratipadā (the first day of the dark-half), showing that the first half of the lunar month in question, was Kṛṣṇa-pakṣa or the dark-half. Nilakaṇṭha, the commentator, gave the same view.

(4) The name of this lunar month was Māgha; for, it ended in full-moon in the nakṣatra Māghā on January 10, 1431, B.C.

⁷ Anuśāsana Parva, ch. 167. V, 26—28.

⁸ See "*The Date of the Bhārata War*" by T. Bhattacharyya, Published from the G. J. R. Institute, Allahabad.

(5) The lunar month of Māgha therefore, began in the solar month of Pauṣa and ended in the solar month of Māgha, as is required by the rules mentioned above.

Let us now turn to the time after 1353 B. C. We have already seen that Baudhāyana referred to this epoch (Dhaniṣṭhādi) in his *Śrautasūtra*. To enable people to determine correctly the beginning of the year, he says—

‘साया वैशाखाः पूर्णमास्याः पुरस्तात् अमावास्या भवति सा सकृत् संवत्सरस्य अपमरणीति संपद्यते’,⁹

(Translation.—The Amāvāsyā, which just precedes full-moon of Vaiśākha and occurs in the nakṣatra, Apabharanī, is rare (and indicates the correct beginning of the year).

From the above we know that at the time of Baudhāyana (above 887 B.C.¹⁰), the Dhaniṣṭhādi system (of 1353 B.C.), in which the solar month of Vaiśākha began with the sun's crossing the end of the third quarter of Bharanī, was followed and that the reckoning of lunar months was done according to the rules as given above, that is, the lunar months were named after the solar months in which they ended. The month of solar Vaiśākha, at this time, was considered to begin when the sun crossed the initial point mentioned above, and the lunar month of Vaiśākha was considered to end in the solar month of Vaiśākha, so that, it began in the solar month of Caitra. The necessary consequence of this is, that the first part of the lunar month was then Kṛṣṇa-pakṣa, the dark-half and the latter part Śukla-pakṣa, the bright-half.

There is a tradition that Lord Buddha died on the first day of Vaiśākha, on a full-moon day, when the nakṣatra was Viśākhā and that this was the year which corresponded to 544 B.C. In the modern Ceylonese calendar, we find the Buddha year 2404 to correspond to 1951 A.D. From our calculation, we get that Buddha's Nirvāṇa took place on the 11th April of 544 B. C. (JD 1522828). It was really a full-

⁹ Baudhāyana *Śrautasūtra*, 28.5

¹⁰ *Indian Chronology* by Prof. P. C. Sen Gupta, CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

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moon day when the moon was in the nakṣatra Viśākṣā, besides, it was the first day of the solar Vaiśākṣa, as calculated with the initial point at the end of the third quarter of Bharanī, as started in 1353 B.C.

The full-moon occurred in the Solar month of Vaiśākṣa and ended in it; hence, it began in the month of solar Caitrā as required by the rules, mentioned above. Therefore, the lunar months, in the time of the Buddha, belonged to the older system and not to the newer (Aświnādi) system, which came to be in vogue by 337 A.D., and has been continuing to the present times. In this new system, it is not possible to have a Vaiśākṣī full-moon on the first day of solar Vaiśākṣa.

In connection with a Kuṇḍapāyī-Āyana, we have in the Kātyāyana-Śrauta sūtra¹¹ 'मासं दीक्षा' that is, the "Dikṣa" or the initiation ceremony, should continue for full one month. 'दर्शपूर्णमासाभ्यां मासः'¹², that is, a lunar month consists of a dark-half and a bright-half, the dark-half preceding the bright-half. 'पूर्वान्तरेषु दर्शपूर्णमासौ'¹³, that is, a Darśapūrṇamāsa, or a complete lunar month, lies between two full-moon days, or in other words, the lunar months are full-moon ending.

The fourteenth Chapter of the Modern *Sūryya-siddhānta* does not really belong to it. It belongs to the old *Sūryya-Siddhānta*, as described by Varāhamihira, in his *Pañca-Siddhāntikā*. For, the account of the system, embodied in verses 15-17, appears to belong to the pre-Gupta period, that is, before, the time when the first point of Aświnī was taken as the new initial point, in the place of that, which marked the end of the third quarter of Bharanī. The verses run as follows :

नक्षत्रनाम्ना मासास्तु ज्ञेयाः पूर्वान्तयोगतः ।
 कार्तिक्यादिषु संयोगे कृत्तिकापि द्वयं द्वयम् ।
 अन्त्योपान्त्यौ पञ्चमश्च त्रिधा मासत्रयं स्मृतम् ॥
 वैशाखादिषु कृष्णे च योगः पञ्चदशे तिथौ ।
 कार्तिकादीनि वर्षाणि गुरोस्तोदयोत्तिथ्या ॥

¹¹ 24.4.23.¹² 24.4.25.¹³ 24.6.4.

(Translation by Burgess, following Ranganath—

“Months are to be known by the names of asterisms (nakṣatras) according to the conjunction (yoga) at the lunar period (parvan).”

“To the months Kṛttikā etc. belong, as concerns the conjunction (samyoga), the asterisms Kṛttikā, etc. two by two. But the three months, namely, the last, next to the last and the fifth, have the triple asterisms.

“In Viśākhā etc., a conjunction (Yoga) in the dark-half month (kr̥ṣṇa), on the fifteenth lunar day (tithi) determines in like manner, the years Kārtika etc., of Jupiter, from the helical setting (*asta*) and rising (*udaya*).”

By the term “*Parvānta*”, in the above quoted verse, is here meant the full-moon day with which the lunar month ends and by the term “*Pāñcadaśa tithi*” (the fifteenth lunar day) is meant, the new-moon day. This shows that the lunar month at the time of the author began with the dark-half and not with the bright-half. In verses quoted above, the groupings of nakṣatras are given in a very rough and crude way, without showing fractional nakṣatras. Yet, we can discern to which system and time they belong. They are shown below :

TABLE XVI

Grouping of nakṣatras in the old *Sūryya-Siddhānta*

Nos.	Groups	Nakṣatras	Nos.	Groups	Nakṣatras
1	Citrā	Citrā, Swātī	7	Aświnī	Revatī, Aświnī, Bharanī
2	Viśākhā	Viśākhā, Anūrādhā	8	Kṛttikā	Kṛttikā, Rohiṇī
3	Jyeṣṭhā	Jyeṣṭhā, Mūḍā	9	Mṛgaśīrā	Mṛgaśīrā, Ārdrā
4	Āśādhā	Pūrva-Āśādhā, Uttara-āśādhā	10	Puṣyā	Punarvasu, Puṣyā
5	Śraviṣṭhā	Śravaṇā, Dhanīṣṭhā	11	Maghā	Aśleṣā, Maghā
6	Bhādra-pada	Śatabhiṣā, Pūrva-Bhādra, Uttara-Bhādra	12	Phalgunī	Pūrva-Phalgunī, Uttara-Phalgunī, Hastā

The first month in the Dhaniṣṭhādi system, (started in 1353 B.C.), was for all practical purposes Vaiśākha. In the month of Vaiśākha, the sun was to situate in the group Kṛttikā which was the 7th from the, Viśākhā group. By referring to Table XIII, we see that the Kṛttikā group consisted of $\frac{1}{4}$ Bharanī and the two full nakṣatras Kṛttikā and Rohiṇī. In the above grouping, according to old *Sūryya-Siddhānta*, we have two full nakṣatras Kṛttikā and Rohiṇī in the Kṛttikā group. If we add to them $\frac{1}{4}$ of Bharanī from the preceding full group Aświnī, we get complete Kṛttikā group, as is found in the Table XIII. We can now complete all the other groups by taking $2\frac{1}{4}$ nakṣatras for each of the succeeding groups. The resulting grouping thus obtained would then completely coincide with that of the Table XIII. From this, we may infer that the intention of the author of the *Sūryya-Siddhānta* was to give the grouping for the Dhaniṣṭhādi epoch; this shows that the old *Sūryya-Siddhānta* belonged to a time when the system of 1353 B. C. was still prevalent. This system was materially different from that which was started with the initial point at the first point of Aświnī in 337 A.D. (Table XIV).

In the grouping of the *Sūryya-Siddhānta*, all the indicator nakṣatras were in their proper places, so that the full-moons then occurred in the proper months, that is, the full-moons in Aświnī, puṣyā, Maghā, etc. occurred respectively, in the solar months of Āświna, Pauṣa. Māgha, etc. and not in Kārtika, Māgha, Phālguna, etc., as in the system beginning with the first point of Aświnī (Table XIV). Hence the lunar months of Aświna, Pauṣa, Phālguna, etc., according to the old *Sūryya-Siddhānta*, began in Solar months of Bhādra, Mārgaśīrṣa, Māgha, etc. and ended in the solar months of Āświna, Pauṣa, Phālguna, etc., unlike the practice in the times, later than 337 B.C., as shown in the Table XV.

Dr. Sten Konow has published, in his remarkable work "*Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum*", a collection of 56 inscrip-

tions, in Kharoṣṭhī script. They belong to post-Mauryya and Kuṣāṇa periods, and are hence, very valuable to students of Ancient Indian History. They are also valuable to students of Ancient Indian Astronomy as well; for, they clearly show us the nature of the astronomical system in vogue in those times.

The dates of the grants, in the inscriptions, have been given in terms of years and solar months; besides, some or all of the following :—Divasa, Dina, and nakṣatra. The terms Divasa and Dina have everywhere been used respectively for *tithi* and solar date. In most cases, the *tithis* have been enumerated by figures from one to thirty.

Let us test one of such inscriptions below. The dating runs as follows :—

“Sam. 61 Caitra Mahasa Divase Aṭhamī Di 8 ise Khunomi Pūrvāṣāḍhe.”

(Translation :—Year 61, month (solar) caitra, tithi eighth and date eight. (On this date) it has been engraved, when the nakṣatra was Pūrvāṣāḍhā.)

It should be noted that the *tithi* number, as given, is 8 and that the nakṣatra at the time was Pūrvāṣāḍhā, indicating that the moon at the time was in the nakṣatra Pūrvāṣāḍhā.

This inscription gives us two valuable information, viz., (1) that the lunar months at the time were full-moon-ending and not new-moon-ending and (2) that the solar months belonged to the Dhaniṣṭhādi system, introduced in 1353 B.C., and not to the Aświnyādi system, introduced in or about 337 A.D., with the initial point at the then vernal equinox at the first point of Aświnī.

The *tithi* given being the 8th, without any mention of the pakṣa, may mean that it might belong either to the bright-half or to the dark-half. If it were of the bright-half, the moon then would have been at a distance of 84° to 96° from the sun. In the morning of the eighth day of the solar

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month Caitra, the longitude of the sun ought to be about 337° ; the moon at this time therefore, should be between $337^\circ + 84^\circ$ and $337^\circ + 96^\circ$, i.e., between 61° and 73° . This indicates that the moon at the time should be, according to the Dhaniṣṭhādi system, either in Puṇarvasu or Puṣyā and according to the Aświnyādi system, either in Mṛgaśīrā or Ārdrā, as shown in appendix II. But the nakṣatra given is Pūrvāṣāḍhā, which is about half a circle in advance of these. This shows that the *tithi* 8th in the inscription belonged to the dark-half. This proves that *tithis* from 1 to 15 in those days belonged to the dark-half and 16 to 30 belonged to the bright-half, or in other words, the lunar month was then considered as full-moon-ending and not new-moon-ending.

As the *tithi* on the 8th Caitra was the eighth of the dark-half, the distance of the moon from the sun ought to be between 264° to 276° . The sun's longitude at the time being 337° , the corresponding position of the moon should be, according to the Aświnyādi system, between 241° to 253° . From appendix II, we see that the nakṣatra Mūlā extends from $240^\circ 0'$ to $253^\circ 20'$. Hence, the moon then would be in Mūlā and not in Pūrvāṣāḍhā. But according to the Dhaniṣṭhādi system, the moon on the given date (i.e. 8th Caitra) might be either in Pūrvāṣāḍhā or in Uttarāṣāḍhā. The inscription gives it as Pūrvāṣāḍhā and hence, it must have belonged to the Dhaniṣṭhādi system and not to the Aświnyādi one.

This state of things actually happened in 141 A.D. A full-moon occurred on the 10th March, the 30th Phālguna, just one day before the first of Caitra (11th March). The Saṅkramaṇa day was then considered as the first day of the next month.¹⁴ On the 8th March, the 8th Caitra, the sun by sidereal motion was at $336^\circ 54'$ at 6 A.M. and the moon

¹⁴ In the *Mahābhārata* also, we have seen from Bhīṣma's statement that the first of Māgha began on the winter solstice day. According to the *Āitāmaha-Siddhānta* also, the first of Māgha began on the day when the sidereal longitude of the sun and the moon was 270° , i.e., the first of Māgha began on the Saṅkramaṇa day.

was at $242^{\circ} 40'$, showing that she was nearly at the end of the nakṣatra Pūrvāṣādhā (Appendix II). The first of Vaiśākha, in this year, fell on the 11th April. The positions of the sun and the moon, as given above, have been obtained in the following way:—According to the *Paitāmaha-Siddhānta*, the true longitude of the sun and the moon at the sunrise of the first of Māgha, of 80 A.D., (JD 1750287.75) was 270° . Hence, the mean position of the sun was $268^{\circ} 57'$, of the moon $272^{\circ} 7'$, of the sun's apogee 50° and of the moon's apogee $234^{\circ} 36'$ at the time. Assuming the initial year to be 79-80 A.D. and applying to them the sidereal changes of positions up to the 8th Caitra of the 62nd year, from the Romaka's positions, we have the above results. Old *Sūryya-Siddhānta* and *Pauliṣa-Siddhānta* would also lead us to similar results.

From this it may be inferred that the initial year of Kaniṣka's reign might be the year 79-80 A.D., or any other year, similar to it astronomically. If the calculations were done with the 337 A.D.—system, i.e., the system, with the initial point at the first point of Aświnī, the first of Vaiśākha would then fall, that year, on the 18th March. This shows that there was a difference, in the beginnings of the months of these two systems, of about 24 days. Thus, it is evident that there would be an error of about 24 days in the results of calculation, if one chooses to use the present system (with first point of Aświnī as initial point) for the determination of dates of inscriptions of Kaniṣka or other early periods.

From the above discussions, it is now perfectly clear that the lunar months were considered to be full-moon-ending (Pūrṇimānta) from the very early times to the Kaniṣka period. People never felt any inconvenience therefrom nor was there any necessity for ever changing the same. But we shall see shortly that the occasion really arose necessitating a change to the Amānta-lunar-months, when the initial point was transferred to the first point of Aświnī, from the end of the third quarter of Bhāraṇī.

Let us now consider the case of an intercalary month. A lunar month is said to be intercalated when it begins and ends between the limits of a solar month. As the amānta-lunar-months were not in vogue in the early times, the lunar month, that was intercalated in those times, was the Pūrṇimānta lunar-month. So, when two full-moons occurred between the beginning and the end of a solar month, the corresponding Pūrṇimānta-lunar-month was considered as intercalated, in those days. This nature of the intercalary months should be borne in mind, when we shall next consider the changes introduced in them, in Gupta times.

A few words on the Samvat era, started in 58 B.C., may not be out of place here. There are differences of opinion, as to who started this era; but, it is a fact that such an era was really current from before the Kaniṣka times. We shall consider it here from the astronomical point of view only.

On 25th March of 58 B.C. (=—57 A.D.) and JD 1700322 at Kurukṣetra mean noon, we have by modern methods:

Mean longitude of sun	...	359°	25'
" " Moon	...	3	2
" " Moon's apogee	...	90	10
" " Sun's	...	68	46'
Sun's Eccentricity	...	0°01'52"	

The new-moon ended at about 12 P.M. of the 24th March, and the equinoctial passage occurred at about 4 A.M. on the same date.

This shows that the epoch (58 B.C.) of the Samvat era was obtained from actual observation by a very skilful observer and astronomer of the time. The *tithi* on the 25th March was śukla pratipadā (1st day of the bright-half of the lunar month Caitra). The solar Caitra in 58 B.C. began when the tropical longitude of the sun was 347° 52'. This corresponds to 330° (sidereal longitude) referred to the initial point at the end of the third quarter of Bharanī, as was in vogue at the time. The sun reached this point on the 11th March

at 6½. 7m. P.M. The Phalgunī Pūrṇimānta took place the day before (10th March) at 11h. 42m. P.M. on the 29th day of the solar Phālguna. So, the śukla pratipadā (1st day of the bright-half) fell on the 13th Caitra (solar) of this year. The Caitra full-moon occurred on the 8th April at 10h. 9m. A.M. corresponding to the 29th Caitra (Kurukṣetra) when the tropical positions of the apparent moon was $195^{\circ} 25'$. The position of the moon referred to initial point of 1353 B.C. was $195^{\circ} 25' - 17^{\circ} 52'$ (Precession $17^{\circ} 52'$)^a or $177^{\circ} 33'$. This shows that the moon at the time was in the Citrā group (consisting of nakṣatras Citrā, Swātī and $\frac{1}{4}$ Viśākhā (Table XIII) and within the first quarter of the nakṣatra Viśākhā (Appendix II). Hence, the solar month at the time was Caitra (Table XIII) and the lunar month of Caitra ended at the full-moon at noon of this day. So the principles of full-moon-ending lunar months are satisfied here too.

SECTION 3

We shall now try to see the effect of shifting the initial point to the first point of Aświnī in about 337 A.D., on the nature and structure of solar and lunar months. Before this date, it was the practice of considering the month of solar Vaiśākha to begin with the sun's entry into the fourth quarter of Bharanī. The first point of Aświnī was behind that point by $23^{\circ} 20'$. This is equivalent to the sun's motion for more than three quarters of a solar month. Table VI gives the month-names (both solar and lunar) corresponding to sun's positions in different nakṣatra groups. According to this, the sun, in groups Bhādrapada, Aświnī, Kṛttikā and Mrgaśīrā, indicated respectively the months of Phālguna, Caitra, Vaiśākha and Jyēṣṭha. In the present system (337 A.D.), with initial point at the first point of Aświnī (marking the beginning of the month of Vaiśākha), the greater part of the month of for-

Initial point at
the first point of
Aświnī

mer Caitra was converted into the month of Vaiśākha and this also was the case with other month-names. In other words, the greater parts of the months, formerly known as Vaiśākha, Jyestha, Āṣāḍha, etc. had now to be respectively called, Jyestha, Āṣāḍha, Śrāvaṇa, etc. In Table XV, the actual state of things for the year 1953-54 A.D. or 1875 Śāka has been shown. This glaring anomaly was not unnoticed or unknown to the author of this new system. They tried to get rid of this difficulty by a drastic method which was nothing short of casting off the solar months altogether and replacing

Adoption of the nakṣatra groups by Rāśis, apparently, borrowed from the astronomers of the West.

This change was adopted and followed in Northern India from Mithilā to Rājasthān. But Bengal, Assam, Orissa, and Southern India, though they adopted Rāśis for nakṣatra groups, did not give up the use of the names of solar months in their almanacs. This practice still persists in these places. This was the history of the introduction of the names of Rāśis in the modern Indian Astronomy. The date for this adoption was near about 337 A.D. No references to Rāśis, however, have ever been found in any reliable inscriptions or documents belonging to the time before this date. If any record, claiming to belong to some older date, containing the names of Rāśis, is found, then it must therefore, be rejected forth-with as spurious.

Though the names of the solar months were rejected as being unsuitable to the new system (Aświnyādi) the names of the lunar months, viz., Vaiśākha, Jyestha, Āṣāḍha, etc. were retained with certain modifications. From the manner of arranging the new type of months, it appears, that the authors of the system were fully aware of the old standard grouping of 3054 B.C., and also of that of the Dhanīṣṭhādi system of 1353 B.C.; besides, they knew also of the defect of the latter system from the former, as will be apparent presently.

Adoption of
Amanta-lunar-
months

In the present discussions, we propose to follow the practice, prevalent in Bengal and Assam and accept the Kāsis for the nakṣatra groups of the present system but retain the names of the solar months of the same.

In Table V, have been given, the names of the constituent nakṣatras, in the groups of the standard system, and in Table VI, the groups in which full-moon would occur for particular positions of the sun in other groups, with corresponding month-names both lunar and solar, according to the standard system. If we consult any of our present day almanacs based on the present system and compare the lunar months, as given in them with those, as would be obtained by following the standard system, we shall come to know that the lunar months obtained from these two different systems are merely identical; but the solar months are quite different from one another.

Let us try to explain it by some concrete examples. On the 23rd of Vaiśākha of śaka 1858, or 1936 A.D. (see Appendix III), the full-moon occurred in the nakṣatra Viśākhā. On 11th Jyēṣṭha, of śaka 1859, it fell in Anurādhā and on 31st Vaiśākha śaka 1860, it took place in Viśākhā. In all these cases, we had full-moon in the Viśākhā group and consequently, the lunar month, in each case, was Vaiśākha. But the corresponding solar month in the year śaka 1859 was Jyēṣṭha and in the years 1858 and 1860 it was Vaiśākha which shows that the lunar Vaiśākha may or may not be full in the solar month of Vaiśākha. In the standard system, however, the full-moon of lunar Vaiśākha always occurred in the solar month of Vaiśākha. In this connection, it may be pointed out that the full-moon in Vaiśākha cannot take place in the present system before the 15th day of the solar Vaiśākha. Similar is the case in other months as well.

We shall now go into the question a little more closely and try to see wherein the two systems, standard and modern, agree or differ.

Appendix IV gives Rāśis, nakṣatras constituting them, and the standard groups. All are referred to the first point of Aświni, (being taken as 0°). Column 1 gives serial numbers, col. 2 gives extensions of Rāśis with the names of the present solar months; col. 3 gives extension of nakṣatras constituting these Rāśis; col. 4 gives standard groups beginning with Kṛttikā and col. 5 gives the standard groups, opposite to and 7th from the groups in col. 4.

The principle of the naming of solar and lunar months, according to the standard system, has been already described. But we repeat it here briefly; for, this would help us to compare the same with that employed in the present system. We do not know as yet, if the authors of the present system followed the old standard grouping correctly or completely. We shall, however, assume for the present that they did so.

The following were the determining factors of the names and the extensions of the lunar and the solar months in ancient India :—

Principles underlying Pūrṇimānta lunar months.

(1) A lunar month was always considered to end with the termination of a full-moon.

(2) The group in which a full-moon ended determined the name of the lunar month that had passed.

(3) A solar month was determined by the possibility of effecting a full-moon, or rather the ending of a lunar month, with moon in a certain group.

Suppose that a full-moon occurred in the group Citrā. According to (1) and (2), the lunar month of Caitrā was to be considered to have ended and the lunar month of Vaiśākha begun, with the full-moon in group Citrā. Similarly, the lunar month of Vaiśākha would end and that of lunar Jyēṣṭhā would begin with the full-moon in Viśākhā group. According to (3) the full-moon in the Viśākhā group, or rather the expiry of the lunar month Vaiśākha was possible, if the sun at the time of the full-moon were in the Kṛttikā group, which was just opposite to the Viśākhā group. This condition holds

for any position of the sun in the Kṛttikā group, to effect a full-moon in Viśākhā group, one year or the other. Hence, the month of solar Vaiśākha corresponded to the time, as the sun would take to cross the whole of the Kṛttikā group.

According to the standard system, Kṛttikā group extended from $16^{\circ} 40'$ to $46^{\circ} 40'$, as shown in the appendix IV. Viśākhā group ($196^{\circ} 40'$ to $226^{\circ} 40'$) was just opposite to it. During the passage of the sun through the Kṛttikā group, a full-moon must occur some time. The Viśākhā group being just opposite to the Kṛttikā, the moon when full must be somewhere in the Viśākhā group and just 180° ahead of the sun at that moment. Every point in the Kṛttikā group with the sun at it has a possibility of giving a full-moon or indicating the expiry of lunar Vaiśākha in the Viśākhā group and this possibility determined the extent of the solar month of Vaiśākha. So, it is apparent that the full-moon in Viśākhā group was the determinative both to the name and extension of the lunar and the solar months of Vaiśākha. Similar is the case for the other months as well. Thus, it is clear here that the solar month was dependent on the lunar month for its extension or name as explained in the above discussion. If the nature of the lunar month is varied, there would be produced a corresponding variation in the nature of the solar month as well, as we shall see presently.

A new and different state of things was brought about with the introduction of the new (Aświnyādi) system.

The authors of the system settled that the solar month of Vaiśākha would thenceforth have to commence with the sun's crossing the first point of Aświnī, i.e., 0° of Meṣa, and end with his exit at 30° . But they thought it advisable to have full-moon still occurring in the Viśākhā group, during this newly formed Vaiśākha month as well. By referring to the Appendix IV, we see that the present Rāsis, Meṣa, Viṣa, etc. do not agree, nor are identical with the standard groups of Aświnī, Kṛttikā, Mṛgaśīrā, etc. Meṣa consists

of nearly the half of the Aświnī group and nearly half of the Kṛttikā group. Similarly, Vṛṣa consists of nearly half and half of Kṛttikā and Mṛgaśīrā groups and so on for the other Rāśis. The full-moon in the standard groups of Aświnī, Kṛttikā, Mṛgaśīrā, etc., occurred respectively, in the months of Caitra, Vaiśākha, Jyēṣṭha, etc. From this, it appears that the first half of Meṣa naturally belonged to Caitra and the second half to Vaiśākha. But in the present order of things, we have to consider the whole of Meṣa to belong to the month of solar Vaiśākha. Thus, it is apparent that the state of things, in the new system has been highly anomalous.

• People were accustomed to see the full-moon in the solar month of Vaiśākha always occurring in the Viśākhā group from prehistoric age. It was so, both in the Dhaniṣṭhādi system (1353 B. C.) and in older standard one, as has been shown already. People would not brook any changes in this time honoured practice. So the authors had to submit to it. But the question was as to how the same was to be effected.

• To get rid of this anomaly, the authors adopted a novel method. They transferred the determinative property, for giving names to months from the full-moon to the new-moon and proposed to follow, thenceforward, the following rules, in place of those of the earlier times as given in page 80.

(1) *A lunar month should always be considered to begin or end with the new-moon and not with the full-moon.* (2) *The group (standard), in which the full-moon would occur, should determine the name of the lunar month but not its end as before.* (3) *A solar month should be determined by the possibility of its effecting a full-moon just at the middle of the corresponding lunar month.*

• Suppose a new-moon to occur when the sun was at 2° of Meṣa. On the day of next full-moon, the sun would be at about 17° . By referring to Appendix IV, we see that the sun would then be at the beginning of the Kṛttikā-group. Hence, the full-moon on the day would occur in the nakṣatra

group Viśākhā. If the new-moon, just preceding the full-moon, occurred at any point between 2° and 30° of Meṣa, the sun at the next full-moon would necessarily be somewhere between 17° to 45° . This shows that the new-moon anywhere between 2° and 30° of Meṣa would ensure full-moon in the standard Viśākhā group. By a slight manipulation, it might be made more exact. If the Kṛttikā group of the standard system be assumed to begin from $14^\circ 40'$ and not from $16^\circ 40'$ (as given in the appendix IV) the new-moon, anywhere in the Rāśi Meṣa, would always ensure a full-moon in the present slightly deformed Kṛttikā group. With this shifting of Kṛttikā group by 2° , all the other groups also would be shifted back and begin from points 2° behind each of these. Thus, it is clear that under this condition, the new-moon anywhere in Meṣa, but preceding the full-moon of the month, would always ensure the full-moon to take place in the Viśākhā group. With this newly formed groups, the new-moon anywhere in the Meṣa would give the possibility for getting full-moon in Viśākhā group; hence, month corresponding to the period of sun's course through Meṣa, was assumed to be synonymous with the month of solar Vaiśākha.

Thus, it has become perfectly clear that the convention that the month of solar Vaiśākha must have to begin with the sun's reaching the first point of Aświnī, or 0° of Meṣa, necessitated the change in the system of lunar month from Pūrṇimānta to Amānta, that is, from the full-moon-ending to new-moon-ending. This is the history of the origin of the amānta-lunar-months. There was no question of such necessity before this time (337 A.D., or the Gupta Period) and so there was no possibility ever of having new-moon-ending-lunar months before this time, in any of the reliable ancient records. It may be pointed out here, that the Amānta-lunar-month had possibly a foreign origin; it was most likely borrowed from the early Greek or Parthian settlers in the N. W. India. The system of beginning the lunar months from the

new-moon is still prevalent in the West. The present British Nautical Almanacs also are still following the same system. In giving the ages of the moon, the reckoning, in these, begins from the new-moon.

Such a revolutionary change could not have been effected by the influence of any single individual however learned or great. It is just likely that some of the Gupta Emperors must have had their hand in it. It is well-known that they were themselves very learned and great supporters of learning. There was a great renaissance in their time, and many learned men flourished in this period. Many new works were written and many older and standard works were rewritten. Many religious codes and Purāṇas were now composed and many ancient ones were interpolated with newer ideas in this period.

Many older Smṛtis were rewritten during the Gupta Period and many newer ones were written during that period or later. Each and every one of them, enjoins religious rites to be performed on *tithis* as calculated on the basis of the newly introduced Amānta system. All of them support the solar months of the new system. The well-known verse relating to the intercalation of a lunar month runs as follows:—

‘अमावास्याद्वयं यत्र रविसंक्रान्तिर्वर्जितम् । मलमासः स विज्ञेयः’

(*Substance* :—When there occur two successive new-moons without any saṅkrānti (crossing of Rāṣi), the corresponding period is to be considered as a ‘*mala-māsa*’, or an inter-calary month.)

That is, if two new-moons occur between the two extreme points of a Rāṣi, the corresponding amānta-lunar month should be considered as a *malamāsa* or an intercalary month, according to the new system. The earlier rule for an intercalary month was that when two full-moons occurred between the extreme point of the same group, or in the same solar month of the older systems, the corresponding lunar month (Pūrṇimānta) was considered to be intercalated. Thus, it is clear that the present system of intercalation came into

being, after the introduction of Rāśis and the present amānta-lunar months, during the Gupta times. It cannot belong to any older date.

There are some works generally accepted as belonging to a very ancient date, but containing the mention of amānta lunar months. If any such is found, the current notion about its date must be changed. Such a work is the *Jyotiṣa-Vedāṅgam* composed by Lagadha. Some take it to belong to the Dhaniṣṭhādi epoch (1353 B.C.). But it speaks of Amānta months and maintains the same throughout the work.

माघशुक्लप्रपन्नस्य पौषकृष्णसमापिनः ।

युगस्य पंचवर्षस्य कालज्ञानं प्रचक्षते ॥¹⁵

Translation.—Herein is explained the knowledge relating to the five-yearly cycle which begins with the first day of the bright-half of the amānta-lunar month Māgha and ends with the expiry of the dark-half of the amānta-lunar month of Pauṣa. Mahāmahopādhyāya Sudhākara Dwivedī comments on this statement as follows :—

अत्र चान्द्रमासा गृह्यन्ते एषामारम्भः शुक्लादिः, समाप्तिस्तु दर्शान्ते ।¹⁶

That is, the months taken here are lunar; their beginnings are at the bright-half and ends at the new-moon.

So there can be no question about the intention of Lagadha. He speaks clearly of the amānta-lunar months here and this brings his date down to 337 A.D.: or to some later period.

There may be available other instances like that shown above. Historians should guard themselves against such statements. They should reject forthwith the statements claiming to be of earlier date but containing expressions involving amānta-lunar months, either explicitly or implicitly. The dates of such records can never be earlier than 337 A.D.

We propose to take a short and cursory notice of the system started by Āryyabhaṭa in 499 A.D.

¹⁵ *Jyotiṣa-Vedāṅgam* V. 5.

¹⁶ *Jyotiṣa-Vedāṅgam*, V. 5.

He assumed the equinox of this year to be the first point of Aświnī. But it was not supported by the ancient Vedic traditions according to which the first point of Aświnī was just behind the star Jyeṣṭhā (Antares), the standard initial point, by 17 nakṣatras, i.e., by $226^{\circ} 40'$, whereas the vernal equinox of 449 A.D., was behind the star Jyeṣṭhā by $228^{\circ} 54'$; hence, the error in the Āryyabhāṭa's first point of Aświnī was $-2^{\circ} 14'$.

The sun crossed the vernal equinox this year at $8^h 0^m$ P. M. of the 19th March (JD 1903394). Due to a little error in the sun's mean position and some error in the equation of centre, Āryyabhāṭa's time for the sun's equinoctial passage was at $8^h 27^m$ A.M. of the same day; this caused an error of about $28'$ in the sun's position, so that the so-called first point of Aświnī or the initial point of Āryyabhāṭa's system was behind the vernal equinox of 499 A.D. by $28'$, or behind the first point of Aświnī of the standard system by $2^{\circ} 14' + 0^{\circ} 28' = 2^{\circ} 42'$.

Āryyabhāṭa was followed by all other modern Siddhāntists, including Bramha-Gupta, Barāha, Lalla, Śrīpati and Bhāskara, in this respect. Modern *Sūrya-Siddhānta* also adopted this initial point of Āryyabhāṭa.

All almanac-makers of the present time follow the *Sūrya-Siddhānta* for their calculations. So the calculations of the present day almanacs are based on the pseudo-first point of Aświnī of Āryyabhāṭa.

With the adoption of this initial point, as fixed by Āryyabhāṭa, all vestige of connection with the tradition of the glorious past has been completely cut off.

We have already explained that the sidereal system of years was first introduced in the later part of the Vedic age, when Rohiṇī (Aldebaran) and Jyeṣṭhā (Antares) marked the two equinoxes; Jyeṣṭhā marked, besides, the beginning of the nakṣatra Jyeṣṭhā, the beginning of the group Jyeṣṭhā, and the beginning of the month Mārgaśīrṣa with the sun's

reaching it. So the star Jyēṣṭhā was then considered as the standard and the only initial point, recognised and sanctioned by the Vedas. There are several R̥ks in the *R̥g-Veda* showing the connection between Rohiṇī and Prajāpati, i.e. between Rohiṇī with the then vernal equinox. *Mānuṣa-Yuga* was started, when Rohiṇī was at the equinox. There are several references in the *R̥g-Veda* to show, that it was started when the equinox was at the star Rohiṇī. The modern month-names are based on the initial point at the star Jyēṣṭhā. If we give up Jyēṣṭhā as being the true and standard initial point, a derangement would be produced in the true character of the months. As a matter of fact, such has already been the case. The result of discarding Jyēṣṭhā, as the true initial point, at the present time, has been pointed out in Table XV.

Lunar months were always considered as full-Moon—ending from the early Vedic times to the beginning of the 4th century A.D. All religious rites and ceremonies in the Vedic and post-Vedic times were performed according to the full-moon-ending lunar months. This time-honoured practice has been wholly replaced by the new-moon-ending lunar months in the Gupta period. This was done only to enable people of the time to begin the solar Vaiśākha, with the sun's crossing the first point of the nakṣatra Aświnī. This was utterly arbitrary on the part of the authors of this change, as has been stated already.

All these wild changes have been retained in the system introduced by Āryyabhata also. People, even in the present times, have been still blindly following them without even raising any question whatsoever. There was however, a section of people, even in the Gupta period, who would not accept this change without protest. They were the followers of the Hīrdi Vadi-Sudi system as known at present. This system is still going on but had to suffer some distortion due to its adjustment with the powerful hostile one, the prevailing new-moon-ending lunar-month system.

This Aṣwinyādi system of Āryabhaṭa has been continuing for more than fourteen centuries and there are available innumerable inscriptions, documents and other records of this period. Their respective dates are all based on calculations depending on this system and must therefore, be worked out accordingly. But in ascertaining earlier dates, the systems prevalent in those times should be followed.

About 60 years ago, a question about the accuracy of our present-day Indian calendars and almanacs was raised by some learned men, versed in modern Astronomy. The defects pointed out by them were quite just and reasonable. But the measures they adopted, for eradicating the evils, were not to the mark and fell far short of the requirements. They seem to have taken only a partial view of the whole question. Their attention was fixed only to the error in the first point of Aṣwinī and to the errors of calculation for the beginning of the year and allied matters from the stand point of modern Astronomy. But had they taken the trouble of going into the past history of the sidereal system, as prevalent in ancient India, they would not have rested satisfied simply with what they had done. They would surely have proceeded further. In their enthusiasm for reform, they have adopted another point of the ecliptic as the "true" first point of Aṣwinī, just 180° behind the star Citrā (Spica α Virginis). Thus, we have at present three different points, known by the name of the first point of Aṣwinī :—

one just behind	$226^\circ 40'$	from the star Jyēṣṭhā (standard)
" " "	$228^\circ 54'$	" " " (Āryabhaṭa)
" " "	$225^\circ 55'$	" " " (newly started)

The initial year, corresponding to this new first point of Aṣwinī, comes to about 281 A.D. But it is not supported by any historical or astronomical evidence. This has served the purpose of making the confusion still more confused. The immediate result of this change has been to throw the

star Jyēṣṭhā, the standard initial point, out of the Jyēṣṭhā nakṣatra.

Indian almanacs have two aspects, viz. (1) traditional and (2) strictly mathematical and astronomical.

Under aspect (1) fall—

(a) Names and subdivisions of nakṣatras with an initial point fixing the beginning of the nakṣatra system.

(b) Derivation of the names of months Vaiśākha, Jyēṣṭha, etc.

(c) Beginnings and ends of solar and lunar months.

None of these were done in ancient times arbitrarily. They were the outcome of the necessity that was felt at the time of first starting the sidereal system in 3054 B.C.

It was essential for the sidereal system to have an initial point to fix the position which the sun must reach to begin or end the year. The star Jyēṣṭhā, having then been at the autumnal equinox, was considered to be the natural initial point of the nakṣatra Jyēṣṭhā, marking the beginning of the month of Mārgaśīrṣa, with the sun reaching it. This initial point was respected and followed for more than 3300 years or up to 337 A.D. There is no reason why we should give up this tradition.

In the first year of starting the original sidereal system (3054 B.C.), we had full-moons in the indicator nakṣatras, as explained before and hence, we had the month-names Vaiśākha, Jyēṣṭhā-Mūla, Āṣāḍha, etc. which we have been still following.

We have already explained how they were derived. Here also, we have no reason to ignore this tradition, nor to supersede them by something else. The beginnings and the ends of these months were rigidly fixed at start and we are not entitled to shift these limits either forward or backward as was actually done, when the first of Vaiśākha was taken to begin at the first point of Aświnī, in the Gupta period,

necessitating a corresponding change of the Purnimānta lunar-month to the amānta-lunar month.

All our ancient rites and ceremonials were derived from Vedas, Brāhmaṇas, Śrauta-Sūtras, and Gṛhya-Sūtras. All of them were enjoined to be performed according to the *tithis* or nakṣatra based on the system then in vogue. People in those days did not know of the amānta-lunar months and they had no occasion to follow the same as we are doing at present. Even in the present times, we claim to be following the ancient Vedic traditions, without knowing that we have been violating the ancient tradition by accepting the amānta-lunar months.

We have made it amply clear in the foregoing pages in which respects we have been deviated from the ancient traditions. We believe that the Rāṣis and the amānta-lunar months were foreign imports. They were forced upon the people by the mighty Gupta Emperors. We have at present a mightier Indian Union, with people of extraordinary genius and wisdom at the head who are fully capable of setting right all deviations and violations in respect of the glorious and the most reasonable traditions of our past and bringing them back to their former status, if they only choose to do so.

To effect reform towards the traditional aspect (1), we have first of all to see that the solar months are made to agree with those of standard system. In the Gupta period all the months were set back by about 24 days. To neutralise this error, we are required at present to shift them forward by 17 days. On doing so, the other associated errors would automatically vanish. We would then have the solar month of Mārgaśīrṣa, always to begin at the sun's conjunction with the star Jyēṣṭhā as before, and all the successive months at intervals of 30° from there.

The following table will illustrate how this change would affect the existing state of things. Column 1 gives the name of months, Column 2 gives the sun's longitude

referred to the vernal equinox at the beginning of the standard months, Column 3 gives the English dates corresponding to the beginning of the standard months, while Column 4 gives the English dates corresponding to the beginning of the months as are now in vogue.

TABLE XVII

Months	Sun's longitude on the beginning of months (standard)	English dates for beginning of standard months	English dates for the beginning of the existing months.
Vaiśākha	39° 7'	30 April 1953	13 April 1953
Jyēṣṭha	69° 7'	31 May "	14 May "
Āṣāḍha	99° 7'	1 July "	14 June "
Śrāvaṇa	129° 7'	1 August "	16 July "
Bhādra	159° 7'	1 Sep. "	16 August "
Āśvina	189° 7'	2 Oct. "	16 September "
Kārtika	219° 7'	2 Novem. "	17 October "
Mārgaśīrṣa	249° 7'	1 Decem. "	16 November "
Pauṣa	279° 7'	31 Decem. "	15 December "
Māgha	309° 7'	29 January "	14 January "
Phālguna	339° 7'	28 Febru. "	12 February "
Caitra	9° 7'	30 March "	14 March "

As to the mathematical aspect (2) of the reform, very little need be said. The length of the sidereal year should be taken as $365^d 6^h 9^m 9^s .54$ or more correctly $365^d .25636042$ and modern elements and constants should be used for getting the correct positions of the sun, the moon and the planets.

If all this, as suggested, be put into effect the proposed reformation of the Indian Calendars and Almanacs is expected to be all round and perfect.

The paper has already grown to an unwieldy length and we propose to close the present discussions here. Many important topics such as, motion of the earth, planets and stars as known to the ancients, the length of years, different kinds of cycles, the method of framing calendars and almanacs, the years of Jupiter, as were in vogue in ancient times the claim of the *Vedāṅga-Jyotiṣa* etc. have been left over un-

touched. The main object of the present paper was to draw the attention of abler persons in this direction and it is expected that the purpose has been partially satisfied. In the course of preparing this paper, I have been assisted by some of my friends. I take this opportunity to express my sense of gratitude to them all.

APPENDIX I

Longitude and Latitude of Stars referred to equinox of 499 A. D.

Stars	Foreign names	Indian names	Longitude	Latitude	Yogataras to Nakṣatras
β Arietis		Aświnī	13° 6'	+ 8° 28'	Aświnī
α "			16° 47'	+ 9° 57'	
35 "	Muscae	Kṛttikā	26° 4'	+ 11° 17'	Bharanī
η Tauri	Alcyone	Rohiṇī	39° 8'	+ 4° 1'	Kṛttikā
α "	Aldebaran	Mṛgaśīrā	48° 55'	- 5° 30'	Rohiṇī
λ Orionis		Ārdrā	62° 50'	- 13° 25'	Mṛgaśīrā
α "		Punarvasu	67° 53'	- 16° 4'	Ārdrā
β Geminorum	Pollux		92° 24'	+ 6° 30'	Punarvasu
α "	Castor	Puṣya	89° 21'	+ 10° 4'	
δ Canceri		Aśleṣā	107° 52'	+ 0° 4'	Puṣyā
ϵ Hydrae			111° 30'	- 11° 8'	Aśleṣā
α Canceri			112° 15'	- 5° 31'	
α Leonis	Regulus	Maghā	128° 59'	+ 0° 27'	Maghā
δ "			140° 25'	+ 14° 19'	P. Phalgunī
θ "			142° 34'	+ 9° 40'	
β "		U. Phalgunī	150° 47'	+ 12° 17'	U. Phalgunī
γ Corvi			169° 54'	- 14° 29'	
δ "			172° 37'	- 12° 10'	Hastā
α Virginis	Spica	Citrā	182° 59'	- 2° 2'	Citrā
α Bootes	Arctaurus	Swātī	183° 22'	+ 30° 57'	Swātī
ι Libra			210° 10'	- 1° 48'	Viśākhā
α "			204° 15'	+ 0° 23'	
δ Scorpionis		Anurādhā	221° 44'	- 1° 57'	Anurādhā
α "		Jyesthā	223° 54'	- 4° 31'	Jyesthā
λ "		Mūlā	244° 3'	- 13° 44'	Mūlā
δ Sagittari			253° 42'	- 6° 25'	P. Aśādhā
σ "			261° 31'	- 3° 24'	U. Aśādhā
T "			263° 58'	- 5° 1'	
α Lyrae	Vega	Abhijit	264° 25'	+ 61° 46'	
α Aquilae		Śravaṇā	280° 51'	+ 29° 11'	Śravaṇā
β Delphini		Dhaniṣṭhā	295° 29'	+ 31° 57'	Dhaniṣṭhā
λ Aquari		Śatabhiṣā	320° 43'	- 0° 23'	(Śraviṣṭhā) Śatabhiṣā

Stars	Foreign names	Indian names	Longitude	Latitude	Yogataras to Nakṣatras
α Pegasi		Aja-edapad	332° 37'	+19° 25'	p. Bhādrapada
γ "		Ahirbudh- nya	348° 18'	+12° 35'	U. Phalguni
α Andromeda		Pūṣan	353° 27'	+25° 41'	Revati
ζ Piscium			359° 0'	-0° 13'	"
α Argus	Canopus	Agastya	84° 14'	-75° 50'	"
α Canis-Majoris	Sirius	Lubdhaka (Mrga-Vyādha)	83° 17'	-39° 32'	"
β Tauri		Agni	61° 42'	+5° 22'	
α Aurigae	Capella	Brahma- hṛdaya	61° 0'	+22° 52'	
δ "		Prajāpati	69° 4'	+30° 49'	
δ Virginis		Apas	170° 38'	+8° 38'	
θ "		Apāmbatsa	177° 22'	+1° 45'	

N. B. Precession from 3054 B. C. to 499 A.D. .. 48° 54'

" " 1353 " " " .. 25° 34'

" " 337 A.D. .. 2° 14'

The positions of stars referred to the equinox of any of the above epochs will be obtained by subtracting the corresponding precessions from the positions from 499 A.D. as given above.

APPENDIX II

Extensions of Nakṣatras in system of 1353 B.C. and system of 337. A.D.

Nos.	Nakṣatras	Extension in 337 A.D. system	Extension in 1353 B.C. system
1	Aświni	0° 0' to 13° 20'	336° 40' to 350° 0'
2	Bharani	13° 20' to 26° 40'	350° 0' to 3° 20'
3	Kṛttikā	26° 40' to 40° 0'	0° 20' to 16° 40'
4	Rohini	40° 0' to 53° 20'	16° 40' to 30° 0'
5	Mṛgaśīrā	53° 20' to 66° 40'	30° 0' to 43° 20'
6	Ārdrā	66° 40' to 80° 0'	43° 20' to 56° 40'
7	Punarvasu	80° 0' to 93° 20'	56° 40' to 70° 0'
8	Puṣyā	93° 20' to 106° 40'	70° 0' to 83° 20'
9	Aśleṣā	106° 40' to 120° 0'	83° 20' to 96° 40'
10	Maghā	120° 0' to 133° 20'	96° 40' to 110° 0'
11	P. Phalguni	133° 20' to 146° 40'	110° 0' to 123° 20'
12	U. Phalguni	146° 40' to 160° 0'	123° 20' to 136° 40'

Nos.	Nakṣatras	Extension in 337 A.D. system	Extension in 1953 B.C. system
13	Hastā	160° 0' to 173° 20'	136° 49' to 150° 0'
14	Citrā	173° 20' to 186° 40'	150° 0' to 163° 20'
15	Swātī	186° 40' to 200° 0'	163° 20' to 176° 40'
16	Viśākhā	200° 0' to 213° 20'	176° 40' to 190° 0'
17	Anurādhā	213° 20' to 226° 40'	190° 0' to 203° 20'
18	Jyesthā	226° 40' to 240° 0'	203° 20' to 216° 40'
19	Mūlā	240° 0' to 253° 20'	216° 40' to 230° 0'
20	P. Aśādhā	253° 20' to 266° 40'	230° 0' to 243° 20'
21	U. Aśādhā	266° 40' to 280° 0'	243° 20' to 256° 40'
22	Śravanā	280° 0' to 293° 20'	256° 40' to 270° 0'
23	Dhanīṣṭhā	293° 20' to 306° 40'	270° 0' to 283° 20'
24	Śatabhiṣā	306° 40' to 320° 0'	283° 20' to 296° 40'
25	P. Bhādrapada	320° 0' to 333° 20'	296° 40' to 310° 0'
26	U. Bhādrapada	333° 20' to 346° 40'	310° 40' to 323° 20'
27	Revatī	346° 40' to 360° 0'	323° 20' to 336° 40'

APPENDIX III

Pūrṇimānta and Amānta months 1857-1860 Śāka.

Year	Pūrṇimānta			Amānta	
	Pūrṇimānta Lunar months	End on date of Solar months	End in Nakṣatra	Amānta month	End on date of Solar month
Śāka 1857	Śrāvaṇa	29 Śrāvaṇa	Śraviṣṭhā	Śrāvaṇa	11 Bhādra
"	Bhādra	26 Bhādra	P. Bhādra	Bhādra	10 Bhādra
"	Āświna	25 Āświna	Revatī	Āświna	10 Kārtika
"	Kārtika	24 Kārtika	Bharaṇi	Kārtika	10 Mārga- śirṣa
"	Mārgaśirṣa	24 Mārgaśirṣa	Mṛgaśirā	Mārga- śirṣa	9 Pauṣa
"	Pauṣa	23 Pauṣa	Punarvasu	Pauṣa	10 Māgha
"	Māgha	24 Māgha	Āśleṣā	Māgha	9 Phālguna
"	Phālguna	24 Phālguna	P. Phal- guni	Phālguna	10 Caitra
"	Caitra	24 Caitra	Citrā	Caitra	8 Vaiśākha
Śāka 1858	Vaiśākha	23 Vaiśākha	Viśākhā	Vaiśākha	6 Jyesthā
"	Jyesthā	22 Jyesthā	Jyesthā	Jyesthā	5 Āśādhā
"	Āśādhā	20 Āśādhā	P. Āśādhā	Āśādhā	2 Śrāvaṇa
"	Śrāvaṇa	18 Śrāvaṇa	Śrāvaṇā	Śrāvaṇa	1 Bhādra

APPENDIX III (Continued)

Year	Pūrṇimānta			Amānta	
	Pūrṇimānta Lunar months	End on date of Solar months	End in Nakṣatra	Amānta months	End on date of Solar months
"	Bhādra	16 Bhādra	Śatabhiṣā	Malamāsa	30 Bhādra
"	Adhika- Bhādra	14 Āświna	U. Bhā- drapada	Bhādra	29 Āświna
"	Āświna	13 Kārtika	Āświni	Āświna	28 Kārtika
"	Kārtika	12 Mārga- śīrṣa	Rohiṇī	Kārtika	27 Mārga- śīrṣa
"	Mārgaśīrṣa	13 Pauṣa	Ārdrā	Mārga- śīrṣa	28 Pauṣa
"	Pauṣa	13 Māgha	Puṣyā	Pauṣa	29 Māgha
"	Māgha	13 Phālguna	Maghā	Māgha	28 Phāl- guna
"	Phālguna	12 Caitra	Hastā	Phālguna	28 Caitra
Śāka 1859	Caitra	12 Vaiśākha	Swāti	Caitra	27 Vaiśākha
"	Vaiśākha	11 Jyeṣṭha	Anurādhā	Vaiśākha	25 Jyeṣṭha
"	Jyeṣṭha	9 Āṣāḍha	Mūlā	Jyeṣṭha	24 Āṣāḍha
"	Āṣāḍha	7 Śrāvaṇa	U. Āṣāḍhā	Āṣāḍha	21 Śrāvaṇa
"	Śrāvaṇa	6 Bhādra	Śraviṣṭhā	Śrāvaṇa	19 Bhādra
"	Bhādra	4 Āświna	U. Bhādra	Bhādra	18 Āświna
"	Āświna	2 Kārtika	Āświni	Āświna	17 Kārtika
"	Kārtika	2 Mārgaśīrṣa	Kṛttikā	Kārtika	16 Mārga- śīrṣa
"	Mārgaśīrṣa	2 Pauṣa	Mṛgaśīrā	Mārga- śīrṣa	17 Pauṣa
Śāka 1859	Pauṣa	2 Māgha	Punarvasu	Pauṣa	17 Māgha
"	Māgha	2 Phālguna	Maghā	Māgha	18 Phālguna
"	Phālguna	2 Caitra	U. Phal- gunī	Phālguna	17 Caitra
Śāka 1860	Caitra	1 Vaiśākha	Citrā	Cāitra	17 Vaiśākha
"	Vaiśākha	31 Vaiśākha	Viśākhā	Vaiśākha	15 Jyeṣṭha
"	Jyeṣṭha	29 Jyeṣṭha	Jyeṣṭhā	Jyeṣṭha	12 Āṣāḍha
"	Āṣāḍha	27 Āṣāḍha	P. Āṣāḍhā	Āṣāḍha	11 Śrāvaṇa
"	Śrāvaṇa	26 Śrāvaṇa	Śraviṣṭhā	Śrāvaṇa	8 Bhādra
"	Bhādra	23 Bhādra	P. Bhādra- pada	Bhādra	6 Āświna

APPENDIX IV

Rāsis, Nakṣatras constituting Rāsis and Standard Groups, with extensions referred to the first point of Aświnī taken as 0.

Nos.	Rāsis	Nakṣatra	Extension	Standard Groups with extensions	Standard 7th Groups with extensions
1	Meṣa Sol. Vaiśākha 0°-30'	Aświnī Bharāṇī Kṛttikā	0° 0'-13° 20' 13° 20'-26° 40' 26° 40'-30° 0'	Kṛttikā 16° 40'-46° 40'	Viśākha 196° 40'-226° 40'
2	Vṛṣa Sol. Jyēṣṭha 30°-60°	Kṛttikā Rohiṇī Mṛgaśīrā	30° 0'-40° 0' 40° 0'-53° 20' 53° 20'-60° 0'	Mṛgaśīrā 48° 40'-76° 40'	Jyēṣṭha 226° 40'-256° 40'
3	Mithuna Sol. Āṣāḍha 60°-90°	Mṛgaśīrā Ārdra Punarvasu	60° 0'-66° 40' 66° 40'-80° 0' 80° 0'-90° 0'	Puṣya 76° 40'-106° 40'	Āṣāḍha 256° 40'-286° 40'
4	Karkāṭa 90°-120° Sol. Śrāvaṇa	Punarvasu Puṣya Aśleṣā	90° 0'-93° 20' 93° 20'-106° 40' 106° 20'-120° 0'	Maghā 106° 40'-136° 40'	Śrāvaṇa 286° 40'-316° 40'
5	Simha 120°-150° Sol. Bhādra	Maghā P. Phālg. U. Phālg.	120° 0'-133° 20' 133° 20'-146° 40' 146° 40'-150° 0'	Phalgunī 136° 40'-166° 40'	Bhādrapada 316° 40'-346° 40'
6	Kanyā 150°-180° Sol. Āṣwina	U. Phālg. Hasta Citrā	150° 0'-160° 0' 160° 0'-173° 20' 173° 20'-180° 0'	Citrā 166° 40'-196° 40'	Aświnī 346° 40'-16° 40'
7	Tulā 180°-210° Sol. Kārtika	Citrā Swātī Viśākha	180° 0'-186° 40' 186° 40'-200° 0' 200° 0'-210° 0'	Vaiśākha 196° 40'-226° 40'	Kṛttikā 46° 40'-46° 40'
8	Vṛścika 210°-240° Sol. Mārga.	Viśākha Anurādhā Jyēṣṭha	210° 0'-213° 20' 213° 20'-226° 40' 226° 40'-240° 0'	Jyēṣṭha 226° 40'-256° 40'	Mṛgaśīrā 46° 40'-76° 40'
9	Dhanu 240°-270° Sol. Pauṣa	Mūlā P. Āṣāḍha U. Āṣāḍha	240° 0'-253° 20' 253° 20'-266° 40' 266° 0'-270° 0'	Āṣāḍha 256° 40'-286° 40'	Puṣya 76° 40'-106° 40'
10	Makara 270°-300° Sol. Māgha	U. Āṣāḍha Śrāvaṇa Dhanīṣṭhā	270° 0'-280° 0' 280° 0'-293° 20' 293° 20'-300° 0'	Śraviṣṭhā 286° 40'-316° 40'	Maghā 106° 40'-136° 40'
11	Kumbha 300°-330° Sol. Phālguna.	Dhanīṣṭhā Śatabhiṣā P. Bhādra	300° 0'-306° 40' 306° 40'-320° 0' 320° 0'-330° 0'	Bhādrapada 316° 40'-346° 40'	Phālgunī 136° 40'-166° 40'
12	Mīna 330°-360° Sol. Caitra	P. Bhādra U. Bhādra Revatī	300° 0'-333° 20' 333° 20'-346° 40' 346° 40'-360° 0'	Aświnī 346° 40'-16° 40'	Citrā 166° 40'-196° 40'

SOME OBJECTIONS ON THE TEXTUAL ORDER OF THE AṢṬĀDHYĀYĪ AND THEIR REFUTATION

By SHRI RAM SHANKAR BHATTACHARYA

MODERN Scholars have raised some objections regarding the order of topics (प्रकरण-क्रम) and the division of the Adhyāya, pāda etc. of the *Aṣṭādhyāyī*. They held that the topics of the *Aṣṭādhyāyī* have been arranged without any scientific basis and they can be re-arranged for an easier comprehension of the grammatical faculties. Our reply on the contrary is that the *Aṣṭādhyāyī* is based on a strict logical order and no topic can be replaced from its present situation to another place. According to the ancient phraseology, we affirm that the *Aṣṭādhyāyī* is a Mahāvākya and all topics are mere Vākyas and as such no topic can be read in another place if we desire to acquire a comprehensive knowledge of the science of word. This is not a mere conjecture but is supported by the celebrated scholar Bhartṛhari¹.

To prove the said assumption some examples are given here, which would also confirm that the opinion of the modern scholars is based on a superficial study of the Pāṇinian works. Moreover, if the logical consistency of the textual order is comprehended, then many hidden grammatical factors would also come to light as will be shown in the following pages.

Kaiyaṭa showed how due to the power of प्रकरण, a particular function is attributed to an ordinary category as under अंगानां हि प्रधानसन्निधौ उपदेशार्हानां प्रकरणोत्कर्षेणोपदेशः सर्वप्रधान-संबन्धार्थः² In some places power of प्रकरण shows in what

¹ अनेकाख्यातयोगोऽपि वाक्यं न्यायापवादयोः ।

एकमेवेष्यते कैश्चिद् भिन्नरूपमिव स्थितम् ॥

• नियमः प्रतिषेधश्च विधिशेषः तथा सति ।

द्वितीये यो लुगाख्यातः तच्छेषमलुक् विदुः ॥

—*Vākyapadiya*, 2/353-354.

² *Pratīpa*, 4/1/1.

manner an entity is to be taken as is expressly said in the *Pradīpa*³. Again, the character of a Sūtra, whether it is विधि or नियम, is decided through the light of प्रकरण as may be seen in the *Pradīpa*⁴.

Not only the प्रकरण, but its limit (अवधि) is also an important factor to be known for the right application of grammatical rules, for some operations take place in a particular प्रकरण only as is aptly shown by Nāgeśa in the *Uddyota*.⁵ प्रकरण is rightly reckoned as a नियोजक⁶; in other words, it determines the right way where there happens any disorder in grammatical operations. It should clearly be known that if a Sūtra is placed in a different section other than its original position, then there necessarily arises some confusion or error in operation or in comprehension of the character of the Sūtra as is shown in the *Pradīpa*⁷. Similarly, the necessity of any Sūtra or any term of the Sūtras is also judged or determined through the power of प्रकरण.⁸ It is the general rule that the import of a term remains unchanged in the whole of the section⁹ in which it is read and this indicates that the character and limit of a प्रकरण are to be known correctly for proper application of the Sūtras.

The aforesaid examples, we believe, will doubtlessly prove that there is logical consistency in the textual order of the *Aṣṭādhyāyī*. In the following pages an attempt is made to refute the objections raised by modern critics on the tex-

³ 'एवमिहापि फिञ्, विधीयमानो बहुवचनमन्तरेण वृद्धत्वाभावाद् बहुत्वं गमयेत्, प्रकरणादिवशद् वा'। 4/1/1

⁴ On 1/3/12. (Nirṇayasagara Ed. p. 152.)

⁵ एतत् प्रकरणस्य शब्दानाम् अस्त्रीलिङ्गप्रकृतिकाचारविवर्तप्रकृतिक-
कट्टं विवर्तनां स्त्रीलिङ्गानामभाव एवेति बोध्यम्। 4/1/14.

⁶ *Pradīpa* 6/4/62.

⁷ तत्र मनुष्यप्रकरणे एवास्मिन् सूत्रे कर्तव्ये यदत्र लुगविधानं, तस्मात् पाक्षिको लुगनुमीयत इत्याहुः। 5/2/60.

⁸ यदि सामान्यप्रकरणविधातार्थत्वमेव चकारस्याभविष्यत्, टापप्रत्ययप्रकरणे
एव यङ् टाप व्यधास्यतेति भावः। *Pradīpa*, on 3/1/3.

⁹ *Pradīpa*, on 6/1/182.

tual order. We invite the critics to contemplate on our conclusions so that this problem will be solved for ever.

(A) It is the common style of Pāṇini that he compiled the Āgama-Sūtras with the Ādeśa-Sūtras at one place, while, according to the modern critics, they should be placed at separate places, for they (i.e. Āgama and Ādeśa) are two separate categories. They also hold that in many places Pāṇini compiled the categories of the same character (तुल्यजातीयपदार्थ) at one place and this style is one of the characteristics of Pāṇini.¹⁰

To this we reply that Āgama and Ādeśa are not two different categories so far as their inner character is concerned. Their apparent difference is in the manner of application only and not in reality (and this is why they are placed at one place) as is remarked अनागमकानां सागमका आदेशाः. The maxim सर्वे सर्वपदादेशा दाक्षीपुत्रस्य पाणिनेः¹¹ also asserts that these two categories are identical in character, though they are applied in different ways. If these two categories were not identical in their inner character, then the aforesaid propositions would remain unintelligible.

As to why their injunctions are made in different Sūtras while they are identical in character, it can be replied that Pāṇini became compelled to read them separately due to the peculiar character of his composition. Ādeśa is operated in another's place while Āgama is a new factor (अपूर्वोपजन) and hence, both of them could not be operated in one Sūtra. Moreover, it is held that the force of Āgama is greater than that of Ādeśa (आगमादेशयोर्मध्ये बलीयान् आगमो विधिः) and as such, both of these categories could not be mentioned or operated in the like manner. Again, Āgama is quite meaningless whereas Ādeśa has sense¹² and so these two categories

¹⁰ Vide *Bhāṣya* on Sūtra ह्युवर्त्

¹¹ *Bhāṣya* on 1/1/20.

¹² Vide *Bhāṣya* 3/1/1.

cannot be mixed unless the character of the established Pāṇinian process is changed.

(B) It is objected as to why the Ātmanepada and Parasmaipada samjñās are not stated with the injunction of Ātmanepada and Parasmaipada vibhakti in the third Pāda of the first Adhyāya? Why are they stated at the end of the fourth Pāda of the first Adhyāya? How is it that the Samjñās are stated after mentioning their application?

To this we reply that though these two Samjñās are to be read before the injunction of Upagraha yet the peculiarity of the composition of the Aṣṭa compelled Pāṇini not to mention them in the third Pāda of the first Adhyāya. This is clearly stated by Kaiyaṭa as under आत्मनेपदसंज्ञया परस्मैपदसंज्ञया बाधनं यथा स्यात् इत्येवमर्थं तु इह प्रकरणे अन्योः संज्ञयोः विधानम्¹³. This is also the reason for not placing the Parasmaipada Samjñā in the section of the Sūtra लस्य¹⁴.

As to how it is possible to operate a संज्ञा before knowing its definition, we can easily refer to the doctrine of नित्यशब्दवाद. This doctrine removes all the fallacies which arise from any action relating to संज्ञा-संज्ञि-संबन्ध.

(C) Pāṇini has placed the three persons (प्रथम, मध्यम and उत्तम) after the topic of Upagraha. Here an objection has been raised regarding the fruitfulness of placing these Samjñās (प्रथम etc.) after the Upagrahas. Nāgārjuna admirably showed the reason for such placing as follows:—
 पुरुषसंज्ञायां परस्मैपदात्मनेपदग्रहणानुवृत्त्या समावेशसिद्धिः एतदर्थमेव चात्र प्रकरणे पुरुषसंज्ञादिविधानमित्यन्ये¹⁵. Again, it may be objected as to how an operation of two Samjñās is possible, for it is read under the section of एकसंज्ञाधिकारः¹⁶. Our reply is that Patañjali has proved that in this topic the power of the Sūtra आकङ्क्षादेका संज्ञा is prohi-

¹³ Pradīpa, 1/4/98.

¹⁴ 3/4/77.

¹⁵ Uddyota on 1/4/98.

¹⁶ 1/4/1.

bited.¹⁷ If the Puruṣa Saṁjñā was not read in this place, then there arose some disorder as is shown by Kaiyata
 अन्यथा पुरुषसंज्ञाः सावकाशाः तंश्च अन्वकाशायाः आत्मनेपदसंज्ञया बाध्येरन्¹⁸.
 Thus it is clear that the injunction of the Parasmaipada Saṁjñā could not be possible with the topic of तिङ्गु suffixes (Adh-
 yāya third, Pāda fourth), because in that case, there will remain no way for the prohibition of the Ātmanepada Saṁjñā,

(D) Pāṇini has placed the topic of एकशेष after the अशिष्य topic¹⁹. Now Patañjali has proved that the doctrine of प्रातिपदिकानामेकशेषः is sanctioned by Pāṇini and the doctrine of सुबन्तानामेकशेषः is non-Pāṇinian. Thus, a question presents itself as to why the एकशेषप्रकरण has not been placed just after the enunciation of प्रातिपदिक, for they are closely related with each other.

We understand that Pāṇini placed the एकशेष topic after the अशिष्य topic simply to denote that एकशेष is also अशिष्य (not to be dealt with by Vyākaraṇa) i.e. it is independent of grammatical regulations. It wholly depends upon the will of people. Patañjali admirably showed this fact and he refuted the एकशेष rules. As to the question regarding the authority for the proof of the notion of Pāṇini that the term अशिष्य²⁰ is to be related with the एकशेष, we can recall the statement of the *Bhāṣāvṛtti*—माथुर्यां तु वृत्तौ अशिष्यग्रहणमापादम् अनुवर्तते²¹, which asserts the above conclusion. Because Pāṇini intended to denote that एकशेष is really अशिष्य (though it was discussed by pre-Pāṇinian grammarians), so he placed एकशेष after the अशिष्य topic, though एकशेष possesses direct relation with Prātipadika.

The same reason holds good with the वचनातिदेश topic, read after the अशिष्य topic. It has also direct relation with

¹⁷ *Bhāṣya* on 1/4/98

¹⁸ *Pradīpa*.

¹⁹ 1/2/53.

²⁰ of the Sūtra 1/2/53.

²¹ 1/2/27.

प्रातिपदिक, but read after the वचनातिदेशप्रकरण, simply to denote that the वचनातिदेश section is also अशिष्य. This view is also supported by the great grammarian Candra as he had eschewed these two topics (एकशेष and वचनातिदेश) from his treatise. Thus we find that Pāṇini placed these two topics not immediately after the प्रातिपदिक Sūtra for the aforesaid purpose, which is not observed by modern critics, and this placing of topics is done after grave consideration.

(E) It is universally held that the dhātus are the primal factors of words and as such it is quite logical to discuss the dhātus first and then the प्रातिपदिक, for they are derived from the dhātus. But it is found that Pāṇini discussed the प्रातिपदिक first and then he took up the dhātu section. Is it not an instance of anomaly? Our reply is in the negative. Pāṇini placed the dhātus after the Prātīpadikas because the use of dhātu is regulated by Prātīpadika or more correctly क्रिया (the sense of dhātu) is wholly dependent on सत्त्व (the sense of प्रातिपदिक). In the *Nirukta* also, we find that आख्यात is placed after नाम²² and Durga Prasad justified this order of words (*i.e.*, placing of नाम before आख्यात) as नामपदवाच्यार्थाश्रयक्रियोपलक्ष्यत्वाच्चाख्यातस्य पश्चान्निपातः²³ Thus, it is clear that प्रातिपदिक is placed before धातु because धात्वर्थ *i.e.*, क्रिया is dependent on नामार्थ.

(F) We find that Pāṇini has placed the Nipātas first²⁴ and then he took up the Upasargas²⁵. While Yāska accepted the order of उपसर्गनिपात. It may be asked as to when Pāṇini accepted the order of Yāska in the case of नामाख्यात, why did he ignore the order in the case of उपसर्ग-निपात? To this, we reply that the peculiar character of Pāṇini's composition is responsible for this order. Pāṇini accepted the Nipātas प्र, परा, etc. as Upasargas, when they are

²² नामख्याते उपसर्गनिपाताश्च ²² —1/1.

²³ *Comm.* on 4/1.

²⁴ 1/4/56.

²⁵ 1/4/59.

related with क्रिया²⁶, hence, it is quite logical to discuss the Nipātas first and then one of their special characteristics i.e. उपसर्ग.

In this connection it is to be clearly known that the opinion of Yāska and Pāṇini regarding निपात and उपसर्ग is not the same. Words, which are considered as उपसर्ग and निपात by Yāska are अव्यय according to Pāṇini. It can be fairly presumed from the expressions of Yāska that in olden times, words like प्र, परा etc. were deemed as उपसर्ग, if they are attached with either नाम or आख्यात, while according to Pāṇini, various names are given to these words (प्र, etc.) according to their relation with various kinds of words.²⁷

(G) Pāṇini placed the order of समास as अव्ययीभाव-तत्पुरुष-बहुव्रीहि-द्वन्द्व. Here a question may arise regarding the validity or significance of this order. To this we reply as under :—

In Pāṇinian system, समास are placed not according to the predominance of पदार्थ, for Pāṇini is strictly an एकार्थीभाववादी (i.e. he accepts that the sense of a compound is somewhat more or different from the senses of all words of a compound). Therefore he placed the समास according to the number of words contained therein.

Thus, it is found that Samāśas are mainly divided into two-बहुपदघटित (composed of many words) and द्विपदघटित (composed of two words). Bahuvrihi and Dvandva are designated as compounds composed of many words. Pāṇini expressly defined बहुव्रीहि as अनेकमन्यपदार्थे²⁸ and द्वन्द्व also is composed of अनेकसुबन्त as is remarked by Patañjali उत्तरार्थ चानेकग्रहणं कर्तव्यम्- चार्थे द्वन्द्वः—अनेकमिति²⁹.

But अव्ययीभाव and तत्पुरुष are not composed of many सुबन्त, because the general rule for the Samāśas is सुप् सुपा सह

²⁶ उपसर्गः क्रियायोगे —1/4/59.

²⁷ Vide the Sūtras from 1/4/50—1/4/60.

²⁸ 2/2/23. ²⁹ Bhāṣya on 2/2/23.

संयुक्ते; and in this dictum singular number of the word सुप् is significant as is shown by Kaiyaṭa अन्यथा सुप् सुप्तेति गुणे संख्याया विवक्षितत्वात् द्वयोरेव स्यात्³⁰. But this rule is rejected in the case of बहुव्रीहि and द्वन्द्व. Thus it is clear that the four-fold division of Samāsa is quite valid and based on the number of Padas.

As to why बहुव्रीहि is placed before द्वन्द्व, we offer the following explanation: बहुव्रीहि is said to take place in the remaining विभक्तis, as Pāṇini has said शेषे बहुव्रीहिः³¹ and as such, this term has direct touch with the foregoing विभक्तis like द्वितीया, तृतीया, etc. which are related to तत्पुरुष only. This being so, Pāṇini compelled to place बहुव्रीहि just after तत्पुरुष, because then only the true character of शेष-शेषि-संबन्ध will come to light clearly.

As to why अव्ययीभाव is placed before तत्पुरुष, we can plainly say that had the अव्ययीभाव been placed after तत्पुरुष, then बहुव्रीहि could have not been placed after अव्ययीभाव for it has no connection with बहुव्रीहि. Again, if it be argued that let the बहुव्रीहि be defined independently and not by the term शेष (which is related to तत्पुरुष) and in this manner तत्पुरुष can easily be placed before अव्ययीभाव (shunning its relation with बहुव्रीहि), our reply is that comparing both अव्ययीभाव and तत्पुरुष we find that the body of an अव्ययीभाव, possesses more brevity in comparison to that of तत्पुरुष for it has mostly अव्यय in the first member and its varieties are also less in number in comparison to those of तत्पुरुष. Here, the order of the Samāsas is according to the सूची-कटाह-न्याय.

(H) An objection is raised regarding the division of स्वरसूत्र of the *Aṣṭādhyāyī*. They are read mostly in the sixth Adhyāya and many other Sūtras on Svāra are read in the eighth Adhyāya. Moreover, in the Adhyāyas like third, fourth, etc. Svāra-Sūtra is read occasionally. Now, the question is why are all the Svāra-Sūtras not read at one place

³⁰ Pradīpa 2/2/23.

³¹ 2/2/23.

as found in other grammars, like Cāndra? Our reply is as under :

In the third Adhyāya, one Svāra-Sūtra relating to प्रत्यय is read as आद्युदात्तश्च.³² As to why this Sūtra is not read among the vast Svāra-section of the sixth Adhyāya, Patañjali showed causes considering the problem from various view-points. Nāgeśa summarised his answer as under:—एवं च शेषनिपातद्वारा आगमानुदात्तत्वसिद्धये एवात्र सूत्रस्य पाठः (*Uddyota*). Thus, it is clear that the peculiar character of the art of the Pāṇinian composition is responsible for reading the Sūtra in the third Adhyāya.

• Similar is the case for reading the Svāra-Sūtras both in the sixth and the eighth Adhyāyas. Why the Sūtras, relating to प्रत्ययः, are not read in the प्रत्यय section of the *Aṣṭādhyāyī* is answered by Patañjali himself³³. As to why the Svāra-Sūtras, read in the eighth Adhyāya, are not read in this place³⁴, we offer the following explanation. The Svāra-Sūtras of the eighth Adhyāya are directly related to पदं³⁵, and as such they cannot be read with the Svāra-Sūtras of the sixth Adhyāya, for they are related to the component parts of Pāda. Moreover, in the Svāra-Sūtras of the eighth Adhyāya, the Paribhāṣā अनुदात्तं पदमेकवर्जम्³⁶ is not applied as is said by Nāgeśa—अष्टमे तु नास्याः सिद्धान्तेऽप्युपस्थितिः व्याख्यानादिति भावः³⁷, and as such, Pāṇini separated those Svāra-Sūtras in which this Paribhāṣā is applied and read in the sixth Adhyāya.

• As regards the स्वरविधि, said in some of the Sūtras of fourth or fifth Adhyāyas e.g. समानोदरे शयित औचोदात्तः³⁸ or लृङ् लङ् लृङ् लृङ् अनुदात्तः³⁹, we can clearly point out that this

³² 3/1/3.

³³ Vide *Bhāṣya* on 3/1/3.

³⁴ Adhyāya 6, Pāda 1-2.

³⁵ as they are read under the section of पदस्य—8/3/16.

³⁶ 6/1/158.

³⁷ *Uddyota* 6/1/158.

³⁸ 4/4/108.

³⁹ 6/4/71.

is done for brevity, otherwise Pāṇini had to use more words for these स्वरविधिस, had they been read in the sixth or eighth Adhyāya⁴⁰.

(I) It is the general style of Pāṇini that he compiles one whole category completely in one Pāda or Adhyāya according to the character of the topic. This is quite logical also, for if one topic is divided in consecutive chapters, then there would be no necessity for composing various chapters, and one chapter would suffice. Diversity in topics is the main cause for dividing the book in various chapters.

Now in the *Aṣṭādhyāyī*, this law is strictly followed but at the end of the second Pāda of the seventh Adhyāya we find that the operation of वृद्धि (relating to तद्धित suffixes) has been taken up from the Sūtra 7/2/117, but it is not complete in the same Pāda and some Sūtras of this topic are read in the third Pāda also. Here the question is why are all the Sūtras relating to तद्धितवृद्धि not read in the second Pāda? Why did Pāṇini read some of the Sūtras in the third Pāda? We solve the problem as under :

Though it appears that there are वृद्धिकार्य relating to तद्धित in the third Pāda, yet in reality they are not वृद्धिकार्य, but are different operations, in the place of वृद्धि. In other words, these Sūtras do not operate वृद्धि but they substitute some other words in place of वृद्धि and as such, they are, in any way, not to be designated as वृद्धिकार्य. This is why they are not read among the Sūtras of the second Pāda, which operate actual वृद्धिकार्य and not any substitution.

The same outlook holds good in other places also. As for example, the शैषिक section of the *Aṣṭādhyāyī* is divided into two Pādas (second and third of the fourth Adhyāya). As to why all the शैषिक Sūtras are not read in one Pāda, we reply that Pāṇini composed two Pādas for the simple reason

⁴⁰ Vide my paper *Svara-Sūtras of Pāṇini* where this problem has been dealt with at length.

that the Sūtras of the second Pāda are related to देश only and so Pāṇini thought to separate them from other Sūtras, which have no connection with देश.

(J) Some scholars raised objections regarding the placing of स्त्रीप्रत्यय before the तद्धितप्रत्यय in the beginning, or the fourth Adhyāya. They say that the स्त्रीप्रत्यय take place after नाम and नाम is composed by the कृत् as well as the तद्धित suffixes, and as such, the injunction of स्त्रीप्रत्यय is to be done after the तद्धित section.

To this we reply that Pāṇini placed the तद्धित suffixes after the स्त्रीप्रत्यय for he intended to denote that the तद्धित suffixes should take place after the स्त्रीप्रत्यय, as is shown by Bhaṭṭoji Dikṣita इयन्तात् तद्धितोत्पत्तिर्यथा स्यात् इयाव्भ्यां प्राङ् माभूत्.⁴¹ Moreover if both the स्त्रीप्रत्यय and तद्धितप्रत्यय of equal force are operated at one time, then the तद्धित suffix will be operated after the स्त्रीप्रत्यय.⁴² Perhaps, Pāṇini placed these two topics in the said manner to denote this hidden purpose.

There are many other objections also to be solved in the light of Pāṇinian view-point. In a separate paper the remaining objections will be refuted which will be published shortly. We hope that other scholars, interested in this subject, will also think over this problem so that this dispute may come to an end.

⁴¹ *Siddhānta-Kaumudī*, 4/1/1.

⁴² Vide *Nyāsa*, 4/1/76.

DISEASE AND MEDICINE IN THE ATHARVAN "BALĀSA"

By Dr. V. B. KARAMBELKAR

INTRODUCTION

THE disease known to the Atharvan as *Balāsa* is referred to many times in the *Atharva Veda* (Śaunakiya)—IV. 9.8; V. 22.11, 12; IX. 8.8, 10; XIX. 34. 10 (as "*Abalāsau*"—VIII. 2.18 and "*Balāsanāśana*"—VIII. 7.10) but only two independent hymns—VI. 14 and VI. 127 are given for its specific treatment. The *Paippalāda* version of the *AV.* has preserved the first of these two hymns at XIX. 13. 7-9 (AVP), but has unfortunately lost the second one. The word *Balāsa* also appears at *Vāj. Sam.* XII. 97¹ only once outside the Atharvan.

Its doubtful Nature and Difference of Opinion.—The disease *Balāsa* is the most debated one among the similar Atharvan names of diseases, owing to its doubtful character. There is such a vagueness about it that we should not feel surprised if the Atharvan himself has termed it as "*Ajñāta-yakṣma*" = Unknown disease. Later medical literature² understands it simply as Phlegmatic humour and does not recognize any disease of serious consequence by the name *Balāsa*. There are some minor diseases going under the title *Balāsaka* (a disease of the eye), *Balāsabasti* (a disease of the abdomen) and even *Balāsa* (swelling of the throat caused by phlegm).³ We shall later on show the connection of these with the Atharvan *Balāsa* which in the Vedic era spelled terror for people. The hymns themselves bring out this fact very clearly. In sharp contrast to this terrible aspect of the disease presented by the Atharvan hymns, it is, indeed, amusing to

¹ VS. XII. 97—नाशयित्री बलासस्याशंस उपचिन्तानसि ।

अथो शतस्य यक्ष्माणां पुकारोऽसि नाशनी ॥

² Cf. *Aṣṭāṅgahrdaya-Sūtr.* 23, 19; Utt. 40, 31.

³ Dr. Wiser, "*Hindu System of Medicine*" pp. 251, 303, 311.

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note that the *Gaṇamālā* (the *Atharva Pariśiṣṭa* 34.24) has included these *Balāsa* hymns in its so-called *Gaṇakarmā Gaṇa* which is meant for a very common healing rite for diseases in general.

Its doubtful character is fully reflected in the following diversity of opinion in the interpretation of *Balāsa* :—

(i) Sāyaṇa says (at VI. 14)—“बलं अस्यति क्षिपति इति बलासः कासश्वासात्मकश्लेष्मरोगः” (i.e. Catarrh), while at another place (XIX. 34.10) he simply states—“बलस्य असनकर्तारं बलक्षयकारकम्” which is a round about way of naming “consumption” and again, strangely enough, the same authority following Keśava recommends the practice given by the *Kau. Sūt.* (26.34) wherein VI. 127—a *Balāsa* hymn is rubricated, to cure (जलोदर-विसर्पिदिसर्वरोगभेषज्यम्) dropsy, erysipelas etc. This means that Sāyaṇa had no exact idea about *Balāsa* and he hit upon the etymology of the word to arrive at some meaning.

(ii) Mahidhara while commenting on the *Vāj. Sam.* (XII. 97) also relies upon the same etymology—“क्षयव्याधिः... बलं अस्यति क्षिपतीति” and equates consumption with *Balāsa*.

(iii) Dārila, on the other hand, regards the hymn (VI. 127) as a cure for dropsy and possibly (mis—?) guided the other two-- Keśava and Sāyaṇa.

(iv) Like these commentators, the European interpreters also are seen seeking light from the etymology of the term *Balāsa*. Zimmer gathered a number of texts and arrived at the conclusion at which Mahidhara and Sāyaṇa had already reached. He thought of *Balāsa* as a “gradual wasting away” that frequently follows ‘Takman’ (fever), the strongest argument in favour adduced being the parallelism between

VI. 14.1

and

V. 30.9.

अस्थिसंसं परस्तरामास्थितं हृदयामयम् । अङ्गभेदो अङ्गज्वरो यश्च ते हृदयामयः ॥
बलासं सर्वं नाशयादृष्टो यच्च पर्वसु । यक्ष्मः श्येन इव प्राप्स्यद्वाचा साहं परस्तराम् ॥

⁴ *Gaṇakarmā Gaṇa* includes II. 7 ; 25 ; VI. 85 ; 109 ; 127 and VII. 7 which is also included in the *Takmanāśana Gaṇa*. *Kau. Sūt.* 26.1 note.

⁵ *Altendisches Leben*. pp. 385 ff.

where firstly, as a matter of fact we find no similarity at all except, of course, the 'Hṛdayāmaya' that appears in both the passages. Secondly, even if there is any similarity at all between the two, it does not mean that *Balāsa* stands for consumption and lastly 'Yakṣma' in the Atharvan terminology does not mean consumption but is a general designation for diseases. Thus there is no more support for this view of Zimmer than that of Griffith⁶ who follows him.

Prof. Bloomfield, after having examined the views of his predecessors, says : "The question is still subjudice and is not likely to be settled until the medical Śāstras reveal their treatment of the disease more fully. We have, therefore, not undertaken to translate the word for the present."⁷ But later on, in the same work, in the introduction to VI. 127, he looks upon *Balāsa* as a "virulent swelling of the throat"—the meaning given by Dr. Wise from the later medical works of the Hindus, and it is already noted by us. This view will be discussed later on independently.

Dr. Virgil Grohmann⁸ has given considerable attention to *Balāsa*, while discussing its relation with 'Takman', the Atharvan name for fever; and he has made his case comparatively strong by disproving effectively the arguments about *Balāsa* being a "wasting fever" or "quickly sickening of powers" (*Petersberg Lexicon*), or "Exhaustion or complete breakdown (Roth in his "*Literature and History of the Veda*") or "Wasting out" (Weber in his "*Studies*"); and with judicious care he thought of *Balāsa*, not in isolation, as others have done, but in association with 'Takman', Vidradhi, Hṛdayāmaya and others with which it appears. But the conclusion that he arrived at, is, though plausible enough, not acceptable. He looks upon *Balāsa* as "swelling" in general

⁶ Griffith, "*Hymns of the Atharva-Veda*" I. p. 252 note.

⁷ SBE. xlii. p. 450.

⁸ Grohmann, "*Indisches Studien*", IX 396 ff.

(Śoṭha of the medical literature). The main defect in his approach to the problem is that he has taken Dr. Wise's statements peacemeal without the least regard to their context; and hence the conclusion that he reached, though not absurd, is yet far from correct. Swelling is connected with some skin-diseases and is present in many other diseases and as such can be viewed as a symptom only (and not as an independent disease and) that too, of the terrible nature of *Balāsa* as described by the Atharvan. Moreover, his study of the texts proper appears to be negligible.

Ludwig's interpretation of *Balāsa* as "Dropsy" might have been inspired by Sāyaṇa's introduction to VI, 127 but Bloomfield finds no support for it.⁹ Whitney leaves *Balāsa* untranslated.

The *Kauṣika Sūtra*.—Unfortunately, the *Kau. Sūt.* does not help us directly in ascertaining the exact disease meant by *Balāsa*. It has rubricated VI. 14 in a practice—"A reed is placed in water of the river and then the patient is washed with the water by means of a branch of a holy tree, so that the water flows down upon the reed". (29.30)¹⁰; while according to Sāyaṇa's paraphrase of the Kauṣika's prescription for VI, 127, "Powder of Palāśa splinter is mixed in water and the patient is smeared with the paste". (*Kau. Sūt.* 26.33)¹¹. These practices, as is very obvious, do not throw any light on the exact nature of the disease, though the washing and smearing recommended, give an idea that the disease may be a skin disease.

Balāsa is a skin-disease.—There is no doubt that the term *Balāsa* and *Kilāsa*¹² have some inherent connection.

⁹ SBE. xlii. p. 450.

¹⁰ अस्थिसंश्रिति शकलेनास्त्रिवटे संपातवतावसिञ्चति ।

Dārila explains "Śakalena" of the Sūtra as "Śāntavṛkṣāśakalena" ॥

¹¹ Sāyaṇa—चतुर्गुलं पलाशशकलं पिष्ट्वा अभिमन्त्र्य व्याधितशरीरं लिम्बेत् ।

¹² Discussed in *Atharvaveda* I. 23 and 24.

The latter term is known to us as a designation of a skin-disease = "White-leprosy or Leucoderma". There is also another word known to Indian Medicine as "Alāsa" a kind of disease understood as "Sublingual Abscesses". *Balāsa* is similarly a disease that should be partly like 'Kilāsa' and partly like 'Alāsa'. Like 'Kilāsa', it is a skin disease and like 'Alāsa' it creates abscesses. Indian Medical tradition has, therefore, connected such words in which skin-eruptions are the prominent feature. Hence, all other views except that of Dr. Grohmann deserve to be eliminated for in them *Balāsa* is something else than skin-eruption. Dr. Grohmann's view too, is correct only partially, in as much as he connects *Balāsa* with the skin.

Two statements from the Veda proper prove this: the first is the famous statement—"Āso Balāso bhavatu" (IX.8.10) which contains as much a valuable truth of therapy as the other part of the hemistich ("Mūtram bhavatu āmayat")¹³. In this statement Āsa stands for dust, ashes and the idea is that the disease while departing should keep back or leave just an "ashy deposit on the skin" (a certain amount of desquamation of the cuticle). This then seems to be a departing symptom of *Balāsa* which is a deadly disease of the Vedic times. This part connects *Balāsa* with the skin like the 'Kilāsa.'

The other statement is contained in VI. 127.1 (addressed to a plant)—"Motciṣa piṣitam cana"—May not, oh plant! Cīpuḍru ! our body (spoiled flesh—"piṣitam nidānabhūtam duṣṭam māṁsam—Sāyaṇa) become inflamed (so as to form boils). This again is another visible symptom of *Balāsa*. This part connects the disease with 'Alāsa' in forming abscesses. Thus (i) superficial deposit on the skin and (ii) appearance of tender boils or inflammatory patches on the body are the two symptoms of *Balāsa*.

¹³ "May whatever is diseased, turn into urine".

Connections of Balāsa.—*Balāsa* is a peculiar skin-disease which forms alliances with many others and eventually assumes a very dangerous and perhaps occasionally fatal turn. To enumerate its connections we have only to acquaint ourselves with the relevant hymnal references. Thus, *Balāsa* associates with 'Takman' (fever IV. 9. 8; V. 22. 11, 12; XIX. 34. 10). *Kāsa* or *Kāsikā* (cough V. 22. 11, 12), *Ādahi* (burning pain IV. 9. 8)¹⁴; *Udyuga* (spasm V. 22. 11), *Vidradha* (abscess VI. 127.1.3); *Lohita* (redness VI. 127.1)¹⁵; *Visalpaka* (erysipelas VI. 127.1.3)¹⁶; *Prṣṭyāmaya* (intercostal neuralgia IX. 34.1); *Hṛdayāmaya* (heart disease IX. 8.8; VI. 14.1; VI. 127.3); *Āsarika* and *Viśarika* (pains variously affecting body IX. 34.10). These diseases accompany *Balāsa* as its symptoms and make it very complicated. It may be that a patient suffering from a particular fever became very weak and offered an opportunity to *Balāsa* to attack him; Or *Balāsa*, it was perhaps found, was always accompanied by fever. Such a complication can be expected in the case of 'Takman' with *Kāsa* and *Hṛdayāmaya*. The others are directly symptoms of *Balāsa*.

Balāsa is Visalpaka.—*Visalpaka*, *Vidradha* and *Lohita* are epithets of *Balāsa* in VI 127.1.

विद्रधस्य बलासस्य लोहितस्य वनस्पते ।

विसल्पकस्योपधे मोच्छिषः पिशितं चन ॥

May not Oh. Plant. my body spoiled by *Balāsa* of abscesses, of red and of spreading (nature) ever swell up. *Visalpaka* mentioned here is clearly *Visarpa* or *Parisarpa* of the

¹⁴ *Ādahi*—Bloomfield, Whitney and others render *Ādahi* as serpent or snake but Lanman rightly remarks that it should mean some disease. It is, as a matter of fact, "burning pain" that causes shrinking of the skin, probably the same as "Dāha" Cf. Dr. Wise, "*Hindu System*", p. 245.

¹⁵ *Lohita*—"It is not at all clear" says Bloomfield (*SBE*. xlii p. 331) But it is obviously redness of the skin caused by *Balāsa*.

¹⁶ *Visalpaka*—Whitney in his "Index Verborum" reads *Visalyaka*, but all the Indian editions and S.P.' Pandit's with Sāyana's scholia have *Visalpaka*.

Āyurveda¹⁷ and it is correctly recognized by Sāyana. It is a spreading disease either Erysipelas or Herpes and it is described by Dr. Wise as follows :

“When the disease is produced by bile, it spreads quickly and it is accompanied with inflammatory fever. This form is accompanied with redness and vasication. When the inflammation is deep, the flesh and vessels are destroyed. Such cases are incurable.”¹⁸ The Atharvan himself has further cleared the nature of this Erysipelas by stating that it moves from limb to limb (Āṅgyah), to the ears (karṇyah) and to the eyes (ākṣyah) (VI. 127.3). Modern medicine too has admitted this.¹⁹

Vidradha or Vidradhi is another epithet of *Balāsa*. It means an abscess with extreme burning pain (cf. Caraka “ततः शीघ्रविदाहित्वात् विद्रधीत्यभिधीयते।” I.17.95.) Such abscesses (boils or tumours of various sizes) are formed both according to Caraka and Suśruta in different parts of the body, such as anus, abdomen, navel, armpits etc.²⁰ The *Atharvan* has noted this fact also.

VI.14.2—निर्वलासं बलासिनः क्षिणोमि मुष्करं यथा।

छिनदम्यस्य बन्धनं मूलं उर्वावा इव॥

VI.127.2—यौ ते बलास तिष्ठतः कक्षे मुष्कावुपाश्रितौ।

वेदाहं तस्य भेषजं चीपुद्रुरभिचक्षणम्।

Here Muṣka and Muṣkara²¹ (testicles) are the same and stand for boils or tumours caused by *Balāsa*. They appear

¹⁷ Visarpa : Erysipelas; Parisarpa : Herpes. But see *Caraka* VI. 21.11.

“विविधं सर्पति यतो विसर्पस्तेन स स्मृतः।

परिसर्पोऽथवा नाम्ना सर्वतः परिसर्पणात्।”

¹⁸ Dr. Wise, “*Hindu System*”, p. 270.

¹⁹ Black’s *Medical Dictionary*. pp. 328-29.

²⁰ “वल्मीकवत्समुद्भूतमन्तः कुर्वन्ति विद्रधिम्।

वृक्कयोर्यकृति प्लीह्नि हृदये क्लोम्नि वा तथा॥”

—*Caraka*, I.17.93 *Suśruta*, II. 9.17-18”

²¹ Muṣkara is a diminutive of Muṣka with the termination ‘ra’ in the sense of small on the analogy of *Pāṇini* V. 3.88.

in the armpits (kakṣe) and they are compared with Urvāru (cucumber). They were possibly operated upon (chināḍini or Nihkṣiṇomi) or the herb Cīpudru was effective against them. They are perhaps, the same as “*Balāsa Muṣkavat*” of Suśruta referred to by Grohmann²².

Thus, *Balāsa* was a skin disease which spread very quickly (Visalpaka) affecting eyes, ears and limbs of the body; made the skin red (Lohita) causing burning pain (Ādahi) and spasm (Udyuga) accompanied by inflammatory fever (Takman) and even cough (Kāsa), and when its attack was very virulent there appeared tender swellings or tumours forming abscesses. Lastly, when the inflammation subsided, a white slight desquamation appeared on the skin. These are the symptoms of *Balāsa* enumerated by the Atharvan and they exactly agree with the symptoms of the virulent type of Erysipelas (complicated with Erythema Nodosum). Hence we are led to identify *Balāsa* with Erysipelas.

Balāsa and Hṛdayāmaya.—Another very important fact to be noted in this connection is the relation of *Balāsa* with Hṛdayāmaya (Heart-disease). Following are the relevant references :

अस्थिस्रंसं परुषंसमास्थितं हृदयामयम् ।

बलासं सर्वं नाशयांगेष्टा यश्च पर्वसु ॥ VI.14.1.

विवृहामो विसल्पकं विद्रव्यं हृदयामयम् ।

परा तमज्ञातं यक्ष्ममधरांचं सुवामसि ॥ VI.127.3

यदि कामादपकामाद् हृदयाज्जायते परि ।

हृदो बलासमंगेभ्यो बहिर्निमन्त्र्यामहे ॥ IX.8.8.²³

In order to make this point clear, we quote from an authoritative source of Modern medicine :

“Certain complications are apt to arise in Erysipelas, affecting the surface of the body, particularly the inflammation

²² Grohmann ‘Ind. Stu’. IX. p. 399.

²³ “If it affects the heart (hṛdayāt pari jāyate) due to love or hate I invoke out that *Balāsa* from the heart and from the limbs”.

of serous membranes such as pericardium, pleura and Peritoneum.”²⁴

Of these pericardium denotes the region of the heart and stands for the smooth membrane that surrounds the heart. It is a protecting wall for the heart, a strong fibrous bag, containing the heart. If *Balāsa* were to invade it, the regular action of the heart is bound to be jeopardized. The outer wall of the heart being in danger, with severe pain, the heart aches, bones loosen (*asthisraṁsam*) and joints weaken (*parusraṁsam*). Such is the *Balāsa* which not only causes pain in the heart but also affects the whole body (*aṅgeṣṭha*, *āśarika*, *viśarika*) and joints (*parvasu*).

It is also pointed out that *Balāsa* (Erysipelas) affects the Pleura i.e. the covering of the lungs, which explains :

“आशरीकं विशरीकं बलासं पृष्ट्यामयम्।” IX.34.10

why *Balāsa* is said to be diversely a crushing disease (*Aśarika*, *Viśarika*) and particularly causing “Intercostal Neuralgia” (*Prṣṭyāmaya*). This latter is to be attributed to the inflammatory affection of the lungs caused by Erysipelas (*Balāsa*).

Bloomfield's View Examined.—Bloomfield, as we have already noted, looks upon *Balāsa* as a “Virulent swelling of the throat”²⁵. For this he refers the matter carefully to Dr. Wise who says : “Various other swellings of the throat are also mentioned such as *Balāsa*, a swelling of the throat which prevents swallowing and is produced by phlegm. It is incurable”²⁶. This helps us immensely in our identification of *Balāsa* with Erysipelas. The same source of modern medical knowledge informs us :—

“Occasionally the inflammation begins in the throat and reaches the face through the nasal fossae. The redness gradually spreads over the whole surface of the face and is accompanied with swelling which in the lax tissues of the cheeks

²⁴ Black's *Medical Dictionary* p. 328.

²⁵ *SBE*. xlii. p. 463.

²⁶ Wise, *Hindu System*. p. 311.

and eyelids, is so great that the features soon become unrecognizable and the eyes quite closed.”²⁷ The spreading of the red area is usually sharply marked and raised. “Although in general, the termination is favourable, serious and occasionally fatal results follow from the inflammation of the membranes of the brain, and in some rare instances sudden death has occurred from suffocation arising from oedema of the glottis, the inflammation having spread into and extensively involved the throat.”²⁸ For the *Balāsabosta* mentioned by Wise, we have already noted that erysipelas creates complications in the Peritoneum i.e. the membrane lining the abdominal cavity and forming a covering for the organs contained in it.

Balāsa—*Visalpaka* is thus Erysipelas, *Visarpa* of the *Āyurveda*. The relevant and appropriate extracts from the *Caraka Samhitā*²⁹ if read comparatively, will look like comments on the Atharvan passages bearing on *Balāsa*. It is a serious disease. “It is sometimes a complication in certain forms of exhausting disease such as consumption or typhoid fever, and is then to be regarded as of serious import.”³⁰ *Balāsa*-*Vidrādha* being *Granthi-Visarpa* (*Erythema Nodosum*). Thus the disease *Balāsa* presented many complications, made alliances with a number of diseases and possessed serious multiform character and hence Vedic people could not get at it easily. It was, perhaps, in the Vedic days even, an unknown disease and hence the term

²⁷ This explains the *Balāsaka*, a disease of the eye mentioned by Wise. (*I.c.* p. 303).

²⁸ Black's *Medical Dictionary*. p. 328-329.

²⁹ *Caraka*. VI. 21. He introduces the topic as—

भृगवन् क्षारुणं रोगं आशीविषविषोपमम् ।

विसर्पन्तं शरीरेषु देहिनामुपलक्ष्ये ॥

सहसैव नरास्तेन परीताः शीघ्रकारिणा ।

विनशत्यन्तु पृच्छन्ताः सन्त नः संशयो महान् ।

³⁰ Black's *Medical Dictionary* p. 329.

“Añjāta Yakṣma” found mentioned in the Vedic texts³¹ was probably applied to this disease.

The Remedies Mentioned.—The remedies recommended by the *Kau. Sūtr.* are already noted. They are apparently immaterial for they consist of mere washing of the patient or smearing of his body. In the process of washing reference is made by the Sūtra to “Iṭa” (grass, bulrush, particularly, one year old) which is mentioned by the Veda proper (VI. 14.3). Such a watery growth as bulrush may have some cooling effect on the suffering skin of the patient. From its employment the *Kau. Sūtr.* seems to identify Cīpudru mentioned in the hymn³² with Palāśa (*Butea frondosa*). But the plant is still to be identified. Añjana (Salve) is also a remedy against *Balāśa*.³³

³¹ RV. X. 161.6; AV III. 11.1; VI. 12.3; TS. II. 3.5.1—3; 5.6.4.6

³² VI. 127. 2

³³ VI. 9.8; XIX. 44.2

LIFE AS DEPICTED IN HARṢA'S PLAYS

By ŚRĪ BRIJ NARAIN SHARMA

THE information regarding life in the seventh century to be gleaned from Harṣa's plays—*Priyadarśikā*, *Ratnāvalī* and *Nāgānanda*, though scanty, is interesting. Mostly he confirms, though sometimes he also supplements, the data to be had from the works of Bāṇa and Yuān Chwang.

FESTIVALS

In *Ratnāvalī* Harṣa gives an extremely interesting description of *Madanotsava*, a spring festival, celebrated in the month of Caitra, on the full-moon day.² In some ways, the *Utsava* was almost like our present Holi. Men and women marched through the streets in a jubilant mood, clapping their hands, singing, dancing and playing on the tabor.³ The ground all round was dyed yellow with saffron powder strewn by the people on each other;⁴ so great indeed was its quantity that the water incessantly discharged through the fountains, getting mixed with it, turned it into a big mass of red paste.⁵ People also threw water on each other with their syringes.⁶ Female revellers

¹ The editions of Harṣa's plays referred to are :

(i) *Ratnāvalī*—Sri Balmanorma Press, Madras, 1935.

(ii) *Priyadarśikā*—V. Ramaswamy Sastrulu & sons, Madras, 1935.

(iii) *Nāgānanda*—The Chowkhamha Sanskrit Series, 87, 1947.

² (a) Act. I. V. 16.

(b) Alberuni also states "on the full moon day of Caitra there is a festival called Bahaud (Vasant), a festival for the women, when they put on their ornaments and demand presents from their husbands." *Alberuni's India* by Sachan, Vol. II. p. 179.

³ Act. I. p. 10.

⁴ Act. I. V. 11.

⁵ Act. I. V. 12.

⁶ (a) Act. I. V. 13 (b) भो इदं पि दाव पिअवअस्सो Act. I. P. 12.

would in the enjoyment of the sport fail to take care even for their costly ornaments.⁷ Some times, getting drunk, they would even embrace men.⁸ Wine was drunk freely, especially by the servant class.⁹ At sunset, the people repaired to a garden where they worshipped Mādana or Cupid with flowers, sandal, etc.¹⁰

The other festivals which find mention in Harṣa's plays are *Kaumudīmabotsava*¹¹ and *Dīpapratiḍḍotsava*,¹² the details of which though absent from Harṣa's plays, can easily be collected from Purāṇic literature. The *Kaumudīmabotsava* fell on the full-moon day in the month of Āśvina.¹³ It was a real *Kaumudī* day—a day on which the whole world rejoiced, as it were. Everything and everyone in the city wore a festive appearance. By the orders of the king, the houses were cleaned and whitewashed. Flags were flown over markets, streets and buildings. Dressed in their best attire and bearing fragrant garlands, men and women went about visiting one another. Brāhmaṇas were feasted. Vedic hymns were recited. *Balis* were offered. At night, lamps were lit in the streets and the houses. Youthful couples danced, laughed, sang and had a round of the city. There were music everywhere—instrumental as well as vocal.¹⁴

The religious part of the festival included the worship of one's tutelary deity as well as Lakṣmī. The Śaivas wor-

⁷ Act I V. 17.

⁸ Vide above note no. 3.

⁹ (a) एसा खु मअणिआ.....एव आअच्छदि Act I. p. 12

(b) हन्जे साअरिए.....इह आअदा Act. I. p. 22.

¹⁰ (a) अज्ज मअरन्दुज्जाणे.....णिव्वत्ताइदव्वा। Act I. p. 16.

(b) तेण ही उवणेहि.....कुसुमाईविलेवणं च। Act. I. p. 26.

¹¹ *Priyadarśikā*—Act III p. 70.

¹² *Nāgānānda*—Act. IV p. 138.

¹³ आश्विने पौर्णमास्यान्तु कुर्याज्जागरणं निशि।

‘कौमुदी’ सा ऋष्याता कार्या लोकविभूतये ॥ *Linga-Purāṇa* as quoted in the *Kālasāra* Vol. I. p. 116.

¹⁴ *Skandapurāṇa*, as quoted in ‘*Vīramitrodaya*’ Vol. VI. p. 419.

shipped Mahādeva offering him various articles, like flowers, scent, bedding, lamps of various sizes and shapes, fruits, meat cooked as well as raw, gold and gems.¹⁵ The followers of Skanda must have similarly worshipped Skanda, the *Kaumudī-pūrṇimā* being his birth-day.¹⁶

According to the *Linga*, *Viṣṇu* and *Bhaviṣyottara* Purāṇas, the deities to be worshipped on this day were Lakṣmī and Indra seated on Airāvata, though worship at the same time was offered also to other gods and *Pitrs* with coconuts and parched rice.¹⁷ Most people gambled¹⁸; some played at dice, others at chess and similar indoor games. Night was passed with the people awake in every house, because the general belief was that the Goddess Lakṣmī visited every house at night on this particular occasion and left one who was found asleep.¹⁹

The *Dīpapratiṇidotsava* is obviously identical with Diwālī. Alberuni puts the celebration of the festival on this very day, i.e. the 1st or the new-moon day of Kārttika, when the sun reached the zodiacal sign Libra. Then people bathed, dressed festively, made presents to one another of—betel leaves and arecanuts, rode to the temple to give alms and played merrily with one another till noon. At night they lighted a great number of lamps.²⁰ *Nāgānanda* mentions the present of gifts to the bride and the bridegroom on this occasion,²¹ a custom which prevails even now.

The *Skandapurāṇa* confirms and supplements the above account. Both Alberuni and the *Skandapurāṇa* call the day

¹⁵ *Skandapurāṇa*, as quoted in the 'Vīramitrodaya', Vol. VI. p. 419.

¹⁶ अस्याः कुमारपौर्णमासीति संज्ञान्तरं तत्र कुमारीत्पत्तेः—*Kālasāra*, p. 177.

¹⁷ *Linga*, *Viṣṇu* and *Bhaviṣyottara* Purāṇas, as quoted in the *Kālasāra* Vol. I. p. 176-77.

¹⁸ *Bhaviṣyottara* Purāṇa, as quoted in the *Kālasāra*, Vol. p. 177.

¹⁹ *Viṣṇu* Purāṇa, as quoted in *Kālasāra*, Vol. I. p. 176.

²⁰ Sachan—*Alberuni's India*, Vol. II. p. 182.

²¹ *Nāgānanda*—Act. IV. p. 138.

Balirājya, 'the former stating that the cause of this festival was that Lakṣmī, the wife of Vāsudeva, once a year, on this day, liberated Bali, the son of Virocana, who was a prisoner in the seventh world and allowed him to go out in the world.²² According to the *Skandapurāṇa*, people were to worship Bali at night. They were to draw his image on the ground with various colours and worship it duly with flowers and fruits. They were also to give gifts in honour of Bali and light lamps.²³

WOMEN

With regard to women, Harṣa's dramas corroborate the statement of Bāṇa that it was the parents' concern or rather father's to select a good husband for the daughter;²⁴ though a *Gāndharva Vivāha* was also regarded as legal²⁵. The marriage could be an easy affair, if both the bride and the bride-groom lived in the same town. But if the girl happened to be engaged to a man residing far away, it sometimes caused no little concern to the girl's mother.²⁶ In those days of bad communications, it must have been difficult to reach one's destination on the appointed date for the performance of the marriage ceremony.

The *Sati* system was quite common. In *Priyadaśikā*, we read of the wives of Vindhyaketu burning themselves on their husband's death in a battle.²⁷ *Nāgānanda* tells us something more. Even the parents of Jīmūtavāhana get ready

²² Sachan—*Alberuni's India*, Vol. II. p. 182.

²³ *Skandapurāṇa* as quoted in the श्रीगंगासिंहकल्पद्रुम p. 232.

²⁴ For Bāṇa read my article entitled "Women in Bāṇa's works"—*Poona Orientalist*, Vol. XVI No. 1—4.

²⁵ सांस्कृत्यायनी—मज्झिम, वर्मशास्त्रविहित एष गान्धर्वो विवाहः। *Priyadarśikā*—Act III. p. 66.

²⁶ नटी—महउण मन्दभाआए.....कि उण णच्चिदु—*Ratnāvalī* Act I. p. 5.

²⁷ वृज—एवं सर्वधुपरिवारे हते विन्ध्यकेतौ तमनुसृतासु सहधर्मचारणीषु—Act I p. 16.

to mount the pyre, when they hear of Jim-tavāhana's death.²⁸ Such *Anumarāṇa* seems to have been common enough in the 7th century A.D.²⁹

Among the ladies of the autocratic families the *pardā* was strict enough. The hunchbacks, dwarfs and old decrepit chamberlains were the only attendants allowed to enter the ladies apartments.³⁰ Unmarried girls do not seem to have had any *pardā*.³¹ But there was no such thing as *pardā* among the women who might be dubbed as plebians. They freely mixed, sat, played and drank with men.³²

EDUCATION

The picture of the educational system that we have is rather hazy. There is nothing about the education of certain sections of society. The Brāhmaṇas studied the four Vedas.³³ Astrology was a developed science.³⁴ Some knew the various antidotes to poison.³⁵

Women received good education, specially in fine arts. Singing, dancing, and playing on musical instruments were the subjects befitting a noble damsel.³⁶ In *Priyadarśikā* Aranyikā, while playing on *Vīṇā*, has been highly applauded

²⁸ जीमूत—देवि ! किमपरं ह्यते ? तदुत्तिष्ठ चितामारोहामः—Act V. p. 231.

²⁹ Vide my article entitled "Women in Bāṇa's works". Poona Orientalist, Vol. XVI. No. 1—4.

³⁰ विदू—जदो कुज्जवामणमुद्धरकंचुइवाज्जंदो मणुस्सो अवरो णत्थि *Priyadarśikā*—Act IV p. 78.

³¹ राजा—वयस्य निर्दोषदर्शना कन्या—*Priyadarśikā*, Act. II. p. 30.

³² (a) In *Ratnāvalī* the Vidūṣaka is shown as dancing with Madanikā and Cūlatatikā—Act I. p. 14.

(b) In the *Nāgānanda* the Viṭa offers to Vidūṣaka, the cup of wine drunk by former's wife, Act III. p. 109.

³³—³⁴ *Priyadarśikā*. Act I. V. 5.

³⁵ वासुवदत्ता—णाञ्जोलादो गहीदविसविज्जो अज्जउत्तो एत्थ कुसलो । *Priyadarśikā*, Act IV p. 88.

³⁶ राजा—गीतनृत्यवाद्यादिषु विशिष्टकन्यकोचित् सर्वा शिक्षितव्या । *Priyadarśikā*, p. 16.

³⁷ Act III. p. 62.

for her acquaintance with the musical minutiae, like the different modes of playing in the ten forms; the threefold timing of quick, immediate and slow, and the three-fold modes *tattva*, *śas* and *anugata*.³⁷ Similar is the case with *Malayavati* in the *Nāgānanda*.³⁸ In *Ratnāvalī*, *Sāgarikā* has been described as entering the plantain bower with a brush and a drawing board in her hand to draw the picture of her lover.³⁹ In *Priyadarśikā*, a *Parivrājikā* *Sāṅskṛtyāyanī* has been presented as the author of a play dealing with the life of *Udayana* and *Vāsavadattā*.⁴⁰

RELIGION

As far as religion is concerned, the worship of the Purāṇic gods and goddesses was the chief feature of the period represented by Harṣa's plays. Śiva, Viṣṇu, Gaurī, Indra, Brahmā, Kāma and Buddha were the prominent deities worshipped. The worship of gods was generally accompanied with the recitation of *Svastivācana* by a Brāhmaṇa, in return for which he received some money as *Dakṣiṇā*.⁴¹ People believed also in the efficacy of fasts.⁴²

How far belief in white magic and similar things could go is proved by the example of an *Indrajālika* who is said to have worked wonders in the presence of the king and the queen by showing Brahmā on a lotus; Śaṅkara with moon's digit on his crest; Viṣṇu with his four arms holding respec-

³⁸ Act. I. V. 15.

³⁹ निगुणिका—दिष्टा मए साअरिआ गहिदचित्तफल अवत्तिआ कदलीघरं पविसन्ती । Act. II. p. 33.

⁴⁰ मनोरमा—आणत्तद्धिं देवीए वासवदत्ताए—“हउजे मणोरमे जं सकिंच्चा अणोए अय्यउत्तस्य मह अ चरिदं णाउओवणिवद्धं” Act. III. p. 40.

⁴¹ वि —अय खु तहि एक सोत्थिवाअणणिमित्तं ब्रह्मणस्य दक्खिणा भविस्सदि । *Ratnāvalī*, Act I, p. 17.

⁴² (a) विदू—णं भणिदोच्चि. सछावेदित्ति—*Priyadarśikā*, Act II. p. 19.

(b) *Priyadarśikā*, Act. II. Vol. I.

tively the bow sword, the mace and the discus; Indra seated on Airāvata and the hosts of Siddha and Vidyādhara ladies dancing in the sky.⁴³ Elsewhere it is stated that Khandadāsa, an ascetic, made even the untimely flowers to bloom.⁴⁴ The belief in the existence of evil spirits like goblins also seems to have been strong enough.⁴⁵

The widest possible religious tolerance prevailed. The wife might, like Malayavatī, be a worshipper of Gaurī⁴⁶ and the husband might, like Jīmītavāhana, be a believer in Buddhist teachings⁴⁷; without their ideas interfering in any way with their perfectly cordial relations. And that this sort of tolerance is to be found depicted not only in plays but prevailed also in practice, is evidenced also by other well recognised sources of history. Harṣa's father was a worshipper of the radiant orb of the Sun.⁴⁸ Rājyavardhana, the brother of Harṣa, was a Buddhist.⁴⁹ Harṣa, later on a Buddhist, was himself at first a devotee of Śiva.⁵⁰

Harṣa's plays are valuable also on account of their testifying to the gradual change in the religious opinion of their author. In *Priyadarśikā* he salutes Śiva;⁵¹ in *Ratnāvalī*, the salutation is to Śiva and Gaurī.⁵² Under the guise of an invocatory stanza Harṣa proclaims in *Ratnāvalī* his success and his resolve to stand by the old religion in the words : "Salutation to the gods, the lord of the stars has

⁴³ *Ratnāvalī*, Act IV V. 1.

⁴⁴ निपु—अज्ज किल भट्टा..... करिस्मदित्ति । *Ratnāvalī*, Act. II. p. 33.

⁴⁵ एदस्सिं वडलपादवे किं पि भूदं पिडिवसइ । *Ratnāvalī*, Act. II. p. 47.

⁴⁶ *Nāgānanda*, Act I. V. 14.

⁴⁷ गरुडः—किं बहुता, बोधिसत्त्व एवायं व्यापादितः Act. V p. 209. (b)

अहो महासत्त्व... Act V p. 203.

⁴⁸ *Bāṅskhera Plate of Harṣa e.g.* Vol. IV. p. 210.

⁴⁹ *Ibid.*

⁵⁰ *Ibid.*

⁵¹ Act I. V. 1 and 2.

⁵² Act I. V. 1 and 2.

asserted himself. May the leading Brāhmaṇas be freed from molestation. May the earth be of bounteous crops. May Harṣa, the moon among kings, shine in a body like that of the moon.”⁵³ The same idea is expressed in its *Bhārata-Vākya*—“May Indra, pouring rain as required, provide earth with abundant crops. May the leading Brāhmaṇas cause lawful gratification of the celestials.”⁵⁴ In *Nāgānanda*, on the other hand, the salutation is to Buddha,⁵⁵ though Gaurī and Garuḍa too,⁵⁶ are introduced in the course of the drama. These facts prove beyond the possibility of any doubt that Harṣa, though a worshipper of Śiva in his early age and youth, had by the time he wrote *Nāgānanda* turned a Buddhist, but a Buddhist of the type that scorns the idea of looking down upon the religious beliefs of others.

VARṆĀŚRAMA

With regard to the Varṇāśrama rules we only learn that the Brāhmaṇas abstained from drinking,⁵⁷ there was perhaps no such rule for the other castes. In case a Brāhmaṇa touched some intoxicated person, he (the Brāhmaṇa) felt polluted and purified himself by taking a bath.⁵⁸ The actress in *Nāgānanda* speaks of her father having left his house for a penance wood with his wife, on getting old and seeing his son capable of bearing the burden of his family.⁵⁹ This probably indicates that the Varṇāśrama rule of becoming a Vānaprastha or Sannyāsin, after passing through Gṛhastha āśrama, was still observed at least by some people.

⁵³ Act I. V. 5.

⁵⁴ Act I. V. V. 22.

⁵⁵ Act I. V. 1.

⁵⁶ Act I. V. 13; Act V. p. 200.

⁵⁷ विद्रु—सेहरक ब्राह्मणो खुअहं। *Nāgānanda*, Act III p. 109.

⁵⁸ विद्रु—अहं पि मृतवाल अजणसंगदूसिदो इह दिग्घिकाए णहाइए पेक्खामि। *Nāgānanda*, Act. III. p. 111.

⁵⁹ नदी—अज्ज कहं....तवोवणं गदो। Act. I. p. 10.

TOILET, Dress and Ornaments

Indians are a clean people. It is therefore natural to find references to bathing arrangements. Courtesans looked after ruler's toilet.⁶⁰ From Bāṇa we can have further and fuller details.⁶¹

A man needed only the two garments to cover his whole body.⁶² *Uṣṇīṣa* was a sort of head-dress to be put on by men on the head.⁶³ Of women's garments we read of *Uttariyā* and *Aṇṣuka*. The former was the upper garment and if needed, it could be used also to cover the face.⁶⁴ *Aṇṣuka* was the upper garment laid over the breasts.⁶⁵ For ten days after the marriage it was customary for the bride's parents to present a pair of red garments, most probably *Uttariyā* and the *Aḍhovastra*, to the bride and the bridegroom.⁶⁶

From Harṣa's *Ratnāvalī* we find that *Ratānavlī* was a kind of necklace decked with gems⁶⁷ and *Kaṭaka* was a wrist ornament for the fore-arms.⁶⁸ But the best description of women's ornaments that we have in Harṣa's plays is to be found in the following verse of "*Priyadarśikā*."

“पादैर्नूपुरिभिनितम्बफलकैश्चिञ्जानकांचीगुणैः
हारापादितकान्तिभिः स्तनतटैः केयूरिभिर्बाहुभिः ।
कर्णैः कुण्डलिभिः करैस्सवलयैः सस्वस्तिकैर्मूर्धजैः
देवीनां परिचारिकापरिजनोप्येतेषु संदृश्यते ॥”⁶⁹

⁶⁰ *Priyadarśikā*, p. 18.

⁶¹ अवतीर्णस्य जलद्रोणीं..... वारयोषितः । *Kādambarī*, Nirṇaya Sāgar edition, 1932.

⁶² (ततः प्रविशति गृहीतवस्त्रयुगलः प्रतिहारश्च) *Nāgānanda*, Act IV. p. 136.

⁶³ *Nāgānanda*, Act, I. V. 18.

⁶⁴ विदू—अहवा एदेण गमिस्सं । *Nāgānanda*. Act III. p. 101

⁶⁵ *Priyadarśikā*, Act I. V. II

⁶⁶ कुञ्चुकी—आदिष्टो अस्मि देव्या..... स्वशुक्ले वर्तते । *Nāgānanda*, Act IV. p. 138.

⁶⁷ Act. II. V. 17.

⁶⁸ राजा—(हस्तादपनीय कटकं ददाति)—Act III. p. 81.

⁶⁹ Act. III, V. 5.

“Among these men the servants who attend on the queen are seen with their feet (adorned) with anklets, their broadhips (adorned) with tinkling girdle zones, the region of their breasts lighted with the lustre of necklaces, their arms (adorned) with armlets, their ears with pendants, their wrists with bracelets, and their hair with *śastikas*.”

PLACE OF SANSKRIT IN THE LITERARY HISTORY OF MODERN INDIA

By PROF. CHINTAHARAN CHAKRAVARTI

IN dealing with the linguistic and literary history of modern India one does not usually give sufficient attention to Sanskrit. Books on history of Sanskrit literature of which there are quite a good number have very little to speak of the latest developments in Sanskrit.¹ But as matters stand, Sanskrit is still a living force. It has still a flowing current however weak and feeble. It is the intra-provincial medium of communication among Pandits of different parts of the country. It is the vehicle of expression of their higher thoughts. It is put into use by followers of different systems of religion, old and new, indigenous and foreign, to give publicity to their creeds and tenets and secure proper recognition for them.² As a matter of fact, even in the present days when Sanskrit is apparently fast losing its popularity and hold over the people at large, a fair amount of literature covering all subjects, traditional and modern, is being produced in the language in different parts of the country. It will be noticed that modern subjects were introduced into Sanskrit and the different provincial languages almost at the same time, that is, at the beginning of the 19th century. It requires to be pointed out that while only a section of the

¹ Keith, as he frankly admits, has generally confined himself in his *History of Sanskrit Literature* (Preface, p. VIII) to works earlier than 1200 A.D. Krishnamachari has given lists of works of good many writers of the modern age in his *History of Classical Sanskrit Literature* making little reference to the characteristic features and to works falling outside the range of poetic literature. Dr. Dandekar's *Bird's-eye-view of Sanskrit literature of the present day* in the *Indian Literatures of To-day* appears to suffer from the same defect.

² It is in consideration of these facts that Sanskrit has been included in the list of State Languages in the Indian Constitution and arrangements have been made for translating the Constitution into Sanskrit. It is for the same reason that desire is expressed in some quarters for making Sanskrit the State Language of India.

people somehow or other had begun to take interest in the provincial languages the major part of the people versed in the ancient learning of the country as usual owed allegiance to the 'language of the gods' and satisfied their literary cravings in and through it. It is doubtful if even now the modern languages and literatures of the country have attracted full support and sympathy from scholars steeped in Sanskritic lore. Any account of the life and literature of the country or any part of it will, therefore, be incomplete if it does not take proper notice of these facts.

It is, however, difficult to prepare a complete record of the more or less recent literary enterprises in Sanskrit as few of them won any wide appreciation or even came to be known beyond a very small area. It is only Sanskritists, mainly of the old type, who have some idea of the Sanskrit writers of their locality. Definite information is available of very few works. Comparatively later works that had the good fortune of being printed have not, as ill luck would have it, been preserved with as much care as older or less fortunate works in manuscripts. And it is usually difficult to trace them. In these circumstances an attempt may be made to take note of the principal trends. The object of the present paper is just to give a rough idea of the extensive literature by referring to a number of works among a host under each category produced during the 19th and 20th centuries with special reference to those of Bengal leaving it to scholars of other parts to supplement it.

Almost all branches of Sanskrit learning are represented in the writings of Sanskrit authors of this age. We have treatises and commentaries on the Vedas, the Upaniṣads, the different schools of philosophy, Dharmaśāstra and poetics, as well as original productions in poetry and drama. There are also works which pertain to exotic culture.³ Thus we

³ Different aspects of this matter have been discussed in another paper *JASB*, XXIV, 1928, pp. 463 ff.

have translations of or works based on well-known books in different languages dealing with different topics. And we have not a few periodicals and magazines which display current news and contain articles on various subjects.

It may be noted that works of the traditional type are better known while those treading on modern lines are little known though more interesting. But very few of the works of any of these types have acquired popularity. Most of them are seldom studied in spite of efforts to popularise them. The tragedy of the situation reaches its climax when an author with a view to securing some popularity for his work offers a reward of five rupees to any scholar who would make out a copy of his work and use it. The author hoped if the work would thus come to the notice of scholars, all errors and inaccuracies would be detected and corrected.⁴ A desire for popularisation is at the back of the prescription of a number of modern books and stray writings in recent years as text-books in different Sanskrit examinations.

It has to be confessed that there is very little of originality, novelty or sufficient merit in most of the Sanskrit works produced in these days though they possess enough historical and cultural interest. They are generally of an exegetical or expositional character or of the nature of summaries of big or difficult texts. We should mention only the more important and noteworthy of them. An idea of the nature of the output may be formed from two lists given by W. Adam in his *Third Report on the State of Education in Bengal*.⁵ Our present task would have been considerably simplified if such lists were compiled for all the districts covered by the reports of Adam. It is true the output was not of a high order. The standard had definitely deteriorated from that of the previous age. But one wonders how so much work could be

⁴ B. N. Banerji—*Samvādapatre Sekāler Kathā*, Vol. II (2nd ed.), p. 164.

⁵ Adam—*Reports on the State of Education in Bengal* (1835 and 1838)—Calcutta University, p. 259, 262.

done in the midst of various difficulties and drawbacks, especially the lack of popular encouragement, which gradually showered itself on the growing literatures of the regional languages.

A brief survey is now made subject by subject.

Vedic studies were never very popular in Bengal. A great Vedic scholar, however, of Bengal, Pandit Satyavrata Sāmaśramī made, in the 19th century, valuable contributions to the literature of the Vedas. He published numerous Vedic texts and wrote the *Aitaréyālocana* as a preface to his edition of the *Aitaréya Brāhmaṇa*. Candrakānta Tarkālaṅkāra's *Kātantra-Chbandaḥ Prakriyā* is a Vedic grammar written in accordance with the principles of the Kātantra School.

In Dharmaśāstra the works of Mahāmahopādhyāya Candrakānta Tarkālaṅkāra, and Kāśīcandra Vidyāratna need special mention. Candrakānta's special contribution to Dharmaśāstra was his Smṛti digest entitled *Smṛti-Candrāloka* in which the views of Raghunandana are occasionally discussed and refuted. Only parts of the work are known to have been published⁶.

Kāśīcandra, though a scholar of the old type, was liberal and progressive in ideas. He had not that unbending conservative spirit, invariably found to be associated with scholars of this type which revolts against everything new in society. On the other hand he had the courage and generosity to welcome all salutary innovations which were required by the exigencies of time and find out scriptural sanction for them. It was in this spirit that he wrote a very learned and illuminating commentary on the twenty Dharmasaṃhitās which guide the religious life of the present-day Hindus. His commentary on the Manu has alone been published. An original work of his was the *Uddhāra-Candrikā*⁷ in which he deals with the problem of taking back into society those

⁶ *Siddhi*—1903, *Aurdhvadehika*—1906.

⁷ Calcutta, 1921 B.S.

that have crossed the sea and have gone to western countries. Similar works are known to have been produced in other provinces as well. Thus Mahāmahopādhyāya Sadāśiva Miśra of Orissa compiled a huge work called the *Kalyāṇapaddharmā-sarvasva* which was published through the help of the late Mr. B. Chakravarti Bar-at-Law.

Mention may be made in this connection of Mahāmahopādhyāya Viśveśvaranātha Reu's original work the *Viśveśvarasmṛti* which seeks to give sanction to modern ideas and practices. Śrāddha, according to this work, is preserving the memory of the forefathers with due regard. Marriage of women for the second time, it asserts, is preferable to forcible abortion.

In Tantras the compilation prepared in 1743 Ś.E. by Rāmatoṣaṇa Vidyālaṅkāra at the instance of a big zemindar, Prāṇakṛṣṇa Viśvāsa is still well-known among followers of the Tantras. It has been printed several times. A bigger work of about the same time called the *Pañcamakāra-saṅgraha* compiled by another zemindar, Haragovinda Rāya, in a distant corner of Eastern Bengal has not seen the light of day. A good number of smaller works pertaining to different deities are also known to have been composed.

In philosophy there are the numerous commentaries and glosses of the usual type, some of a very high order. Special mention may be made of a new venture, the *Śakti-bhāṣya* on the *Vedānta-Sūtra*, the work of Pandit Pañcānana Tarkaratna who seeks to explain the Sūtras from the standpoint of Śāktism.

In poetic literature a good many works have been published. Of these, special mention may be made of the works of Rāmanātha Tarkaratna, Ajitanātha Nyāyaṣatna, Pañcānana Tarkaratna, Prof. Hemacandra Rāya Kāvibhūṣaṇa, Mahāmahopādhyāya Haridāsa Siddhāntavāgiṣa and Mahāmahopādhyāya Kālīpada Tarkācārya. Dramas composed by some of these writers have been successfully put on the

stage. The *Antarvyākaraṇanātyaparīṣiṣṭa* of Kṛṣṇānanda⁸ is a peculiar work. It aims at serving the double purpose of a drama and a grammar. It is mostly composed in *double entendre*. Interpreted one way it is found to enunciate rules of grammar and taken another way it narrates a story.

In grammar and rhetoric several attempts were made to simplify the older works and present the fundamentals of the subjects within a narrow compass. Tārānātha Tarkavācaspati's *Āśubodha Vyākaraṇa*, an independent grammar based on Pāṇini, Prof. Devendranātha Vidyāratna's *Pāṇinisāra* and Kānticandra Vandyopādhyāya's *Kāvya-dīpikā* may be cited as specimens.

In Prosody ventures were made as in the *Vṛttaratnākara* of Cirañjīva (Serampore, 1755 S.E.) to incorporate into Sanskrit the metres prevalent in the local languages.

In Lexicography the traditional form was abandoned. And dictionaries came to be prepared in the modern way. In this direction the monumental works *Śabdakalpādruma* (1822—1858) of Rājā Rādhākānta Deva and the *Vācaspaṭya* (1873—1884) of Tārānātha Tarkavācaspati deserve special mention. *Śabdārṇava* by Kāśinātha Pāṭhaka⁹ of which a portion is reported to have been printed and the *Śabdamuḥktāmabāhṛṇava* of Raghumaṇi Vidyābhūṣaṇa of which Wilson's Sanskrit-English Dictionary was a translation were pioneers in this line. It may be mentioned in this connection that a smaller dictionary of Raghumaṇi published in 1737 S.E. with the help of Prāṇakṛṣṇa Viśvāsa under the title *Prāṇakṛṣṇa Śabdābdhi* is perhaps the earliest Sanskrit dictionary of the modern type to be published.

Coming to works on modern subjects we must first of all refer to books compiled with a view to giving instruction to students of Sanskrit on various topics. We have reference to quite a number of these works

⁸ Calcutta, 1951 V.S.

⁹ K. L. Mitra—*Notices of Sanskrit Mss.*, IV. 1490

in the *Catalogue of the British Museum* by Haas. The *Nūtanodantotsa* [by Muir ?]¹⁰ is a description of England in Sanskrit. The *Kṣetratattvadīpikā*¹¹ is Hutton's course of Mathematics, Pt. III—Geometry translated by Yogadhyāna Miśra. *Itihāsa-dīpikā*¹² is a sketch of history of India in Sanskrit verse by J. Muir. *Vyavahārāloka*¹³ contains brief lectures on Mental Philosophy and other subjects delivered in Sanskrit to students of the Banaras Sanskrit College by J. Muir. *Bekanīyasūtravyākhyāna* by Viṭṭhala Śāstri¹⁴ is an explanatory version of Bacon's *Novum Organum*. The *Pañcabhūta-vādārtha* (1859) by the same author written under the direction of J. R. Ballantyne contains lectures on the chemistry of the five Hindu elements. *Nyāyakaumudī* (1855) by Ballantyne is a synopsis of science in Sanskrit and English. *Vidyācakra* (1849) consists of lectures on sub-divisions of knowledge and their mutual relations delivered in the Banaras Sanskrit College. Radhanatha Sikdar is reported to have translated into Sanskrit a number of scientific works in English into Sanskrit with the help of Dr. Tytler, but it has not been possible to collect any details about them.

Of recent works of this type are *Pratyakṣa-sarīra*¹⁵ or a Text Book on human anatomy and *Siddhāntamidāna*¹⁶ or a Text Book on Etiology, Pathology and Symptomatology of Gaṇanātha Sen aimed at equipping students of Āyurveda with the fundamentals of basic medical sciences of modern times. Elementary text-books on different branches of Mathematics as well as on history and geography have also been compiled in different places for candidates of Sanskrit examinations of *toles* or *pāṭhasālās*.

Simple curiosity and a consideration of the dignity of the language also prompted people to write in Sanskrit on

¹⁰ Calcutta, 1839.

¹² Calcutta, 1840.

¹⁴ Banares, 1852-7

¹⁶ Calcutta, 1922.

¹¹ Calcutta, 1839.

¹³ Allahabad, 1845.

¹⁵ Calcutta, 1919.

different modern topics. In this connection special mention needs be made of the work done by European scholars. We know enough of the writings of Europeans in different regional languages of India. Much is also known of the commendable and arduous work done by them in the field of Sanskrit studies. But little is known of the writings of European scholars in the 'language of the gods'. Some of the earlier European scholars, however, wrote in Sanskrit like the Pandits of the land. We have already referred to the work of a few of them and we now refer to some more.

As early as the year 1803 J. Gilchrist published *The Oriental Fabulist* or Polyglot Translations of Aesop's and other ancient fables from the English Language into Hindustani, Persian, Arabic, Bhākhā, Bonglā, Sanskrit etc., in the Roman character. The translations might have been done for him by some Pandits. This we know was the case with the Bengali portion¹⁷.

We have an interesting record of a public disputation in Sanskrit which took place on the 20th September, 1804 and in which European students and teachers of the Fort William College took part. On this occasion Mr. C. Gowan read a paper on the use of the study of Sanskrit and Mr. Carey 'teacher of Bengali and Shanskrit Language' delivered a speech, both in Sanskrit. The paper and the speech were published along with translation in English in the *Primitiae Orientales*.¹⁸ Similar disputations, it seems, were held from time to time.

Several verses in Sanskrit eulogising the beauty of the language are attributed to the great Sanskritists Wilson and Cowel. Hoernle dedicates his edition of the *Uvāsagadasāo*¹⁹ to a Jain muni in several beautiful Sanskrit verses which may not unlikely have been his own composition. Cappelaz's

¹⁷ S. K. De, *Bengali Literature in the nineteenth century*.

¹⁸ Vol. III, pp. 83-88, 95-111.

¹⁹ *ib. Ind.*

translations from German and Greek poets under the titles *Subhāṣitamālikā* and *Yavana-Śatakam* appeared in the *Indian Antiquary*.²⁰ He has referred to similar verses in standard Sanskrit works. The verses are very happy and deserve to be reprinted.

It may be mentioned in passing that similar work was done by Indian writers as well. The British National Anthem was translated into Sanskrit by P. Mitra.²¹ We have copies of Sanskrit translations of Goldsmith's *Deserted Village* and *The Traveller* made by Vidvan K. Venkatarangacarya in the India Office Library. The tales of Shakespear's dramas have been independently summarised in Sanskrit by M. C. Sadgopalachariar and M. Venkataramanacharya. The *Jar-māṇi-Kāvya*, complete in 10 paricchedas, of Raja Shyamakumar Tagore was published in Leipzig in 1913.

The process was carried further by the translation of of indigenous works in provincial languages and by works describing the life-stories and achievements of great men of India. I would mention here the names of a number of these works :

Gīrvāṇajñāneśvarī by A. V. Khasnis, the *Sanskrita jñāneśvarī* by P. O. Oka, *Śrīrāmacarita*, a Sanskrit version of the famous Tamil classic *Kaṃparamayana* by Nilakaṇṭha Śāstrī, *Gītāñjali*, a Sanskrit version of Rabindranātha's Bengali work of the same name, by Amarendromohan Tarkatirtha, the famous Bengali novel *Kapālakuṇḍalā* of Bankim Candra Caṭṭopādhyāya translated by Haricaraṇa Vidyāratna, *Śrī Shreebhaguru Caritāmṛta* by Shripad Shastri Hasurkār, *Dayānandacarita* by Vallabhadas Bhagavanjī Ganatra, *Dayānanda-digvijaya* by Medhāvratācārya, *Śaṅkara-Jīvanākhyāna*, *Tukārāmā-carita* and *Satyāgrahagītā* by Paṇḍitā K. hama Rao and *Gāndhī Sūtra* by D. S. Sharma.

²⁰ Vol. 32, 1903, p. 300, 399, 438, 471, Vol. 33, 1904, p. 324, Vol. 34, 1905, p. 30.

²¹ *Indian Antiquary*, Vol. 15, p. 363.

Reference may also be made to the considerable amount of literature in Sanskrit produced by Europeans as well as Indians on Christianity.

The Bible was first translated into Sanskrit by Carey and other missionaries with the help of native scholars as early as the beginning of the 19th century and a number of editions were published before the end of the century. Independent works, some of the epic type, were also composed from time to time describing the life-stories of Jesus and the apostles. Of these *Khrīṣṭa-Saṅgītā* of W. H. Mill prepared with the help of Rāmacandra Vidyābhūṣaṇa of Burdwan and other Pandits first appeared in 1831. *Mataparīkṣā* (1840), *Śarmapaddhati* (1841), *Śrī-Jeṣṭhbrīṣṭa-māhātmyam* (1848) and *Śrī-Paula-caritram* (1850) were contributed by J. Muir. Ballantyne translated his exposition of Christianity into Sanskrit under the title *Khrīṣṭadharmaumudī*.

Of works in this line by Indian scholars, *The Song of Solomon* in Sanskrit poetry by Pandit Prasanna Kumāra Vidyāratna was published in 1893. *The Ordinary of the Mass* was prepared and published by Ambrosse Suresh Chandra Roy. Taracharan Chakravarty's *Chriṣṭopaniṣad* gives a metrical version in Sanskrit of the four Gospels.

The history of journalism in Sanskrit is fairly long and interesting. Journals were and are published in Sanskrit in different parts of the country to win popularity for the language and to restore it to its pristine position of glory as the language of the people, at least the cultured people. It is however, a pity that no satisfactory record of the work done in this connection is available. Most of these Sanskrit journals are short-lived. Many are the fruits of individual enterprises, some are organs of one or other of the many societies formed to further the cause of Sanskrit. A few of them, of course, have enjoyed fairly long lives reflecting credit on the organisers. It is difficult to gather full information about this literature.

A reference may be made to a few of the older and more interesting of the journals. Sanskrit periodicals like the *Pratnakavyanandini* (1789 Ś.E.), *Uṣā* (1811 Ś.E.), *Pandita*, *Grantharatnamālā* and *Kāvya-mālā* were started with a view to bringing to light old and unpublished Sanskrit texts, commentaries on them and their translations.

Of journals of the usual type one of the earliest was the *Vidyodaya* which was first published at Lahore in 1871. It lasted about eighty years under the editorship of Pandit Hṛṣikeśa Śāstrī and his sons Pandits Bhavabhūti Vidyāratna and Bhavavibhūti Vidyābhūṣaṇa. The *Saṃskṛtacakandrikā* was brought out from Noakhali in East Bengal by Pandit Jayacandra Siddhāntabhūṣaṇa in 1893. It was conducted by him for about 16 years after which it was transferred to Appa Śāstrī of Kolhapur.

The first attempt to bring out a weekly newspaper in Sanskrit is perhaps represented by the *Māñjubhāṣiṇī* which came out in 1899 from Conjeeveram. It continued for a good many years. It has at present two successors in the *Saṃskṛt-kṛtabhavitavyam* (1951), weekly organ of the Sanskrit Pracārīṇī Sabhā of Nagpur which was entrusted with the task of selecting short stories in connection with the All-World short story competition and the *Saṃskṛta Sāketa* (1952), weekly organ of the Akhila Bhāratiya Vidvatsamiti in Oudh. We have mention of one fortnightly journal, the *Mitra*, which was published at Muzaffarpur in Bihar.

One of the most curious attempts in Sanskrit journalism was the publication in Calcutta in 1926 of a poetical journal as the quarterly organ of a poetry society called the *Saṃskṛta Padyagoṣṭhī*, which aimed at the cultivation of Sanskrit poetry. The organ was introduced with the same object in view. All matters contained in it including the rules and announcements were in poetry.

The following list, which can in no way claim to be complete, of the names of other journals that came to my

knowledge, with the years of first publication and names of editors, as far as could be gathered, will give an idea of the extent of work done in this connection.

Sabrdayā (1908) edited by Prof. R. V. Krishnamacharya, *Āryaprabhā* (1910) edited by Kunjavihārī Tarkasiddhānta, *Śāradā* of Allahabad (1915), *Saṃskṛta Sāhitya Pariṣat* (1917), organ of the Saṃskṛta Sāhitya Pariṣat of Calcutta, *Saṃskṛta Mahāmaṇḍala* (1920), organ of the Saṃskṛta Mahāmaṇḍala of Calcutta, *Saṃskṛtabhāratī* (1918) edited by Principal Umācaraṇa Vandyopādhyāya of Burdwan Raj College, *Sūryodaya* (1925), organ of the Bhārata Dharma-mahāmaṇḍala, originally perhaps of the Banaras Vidya Pariṣat, *Mahārāja Saṃskṛta Mahāpāṭhaśālā Patrikā* (1925) of Mysore, *Udyāna Patrikā* (1927) of Tanjore, *Udyota*, (1928), organ of the Punjab Saṃskṛta Sāhitya Pariṣat, *Brāhmaṇa-mahāsammelana* (1928), *Madhuravāṇī* (1936) of Karnatak, *Saṃskṛta Ratnākara* (1937), organ of the Akhila Bhāratiya Saṃskṛta Sammelana, *Sārasvatī Suśamā* (1946), organ of the Banaras Sanskrit College, *Māñjūṣā* (1946) of Calcutta, edited by Dr. K. C. Chatterji, *Bhāratī* (1952) of Jaipur, *Saṃskṛta-Kāmadhenu* edited by Rāmaliṅga Śāstri, *Mitragoṣṭhī* edited by Vidhuśekhara Śāstri, *Vijñāna-Cintāmaṇi* of Malabar, *Amṛtabhāratī* of Cochin, *Mālavamayūra*, *Amṛtavāṇi*, etc. etc.²²

²² The paper was read before the 17th Session of the *All-India Oriental Conference* held at Ahmedabad in 1953. At the same conference Dr. S. N. Shastri presented a paper on one aspect of Modern Sanskrit Literature, e. g., drama. It is gratifying to note that Dr. V. Raghavan has recently contributed a paper on the subject entitled *Modern Sanskrit Writings* published in the *Brahmaśāstra* (May, 1956) and issued separately in the Adyar Library Series (No. P. 31). Dr. Raghavan, I am told, has written two more papers on the subject. A note on *Some Modern Sanskrit Books* incorporating information not included in the present paper has been published by me in the *Modern Review* (August, 1956). It may be noted that all these papers which supplement one another do not give a complete picture of the wide subject.

REVIEWS OF BOOKS

ĀBHOGAḤ-KALPATARU-VYĀKHYĀ. An exhaustive commentary on the *Kalpataru*, a commentary on the *Bhāmātī* of Vācaspati Mishra I. By Lakṣmīnṛsiṃha. Edited with Introduction and notes by Śāstra-Ratnākara Polagam Śrī-Rama Śāstrī, Professor of Vedānta, Madras Sanskrit College, Mylapore and Paṇḍitarāja S. Subrahmanya Śāstrī, M.A., Junior Lecturer in Sanskrit, University of Madras and Published by the Government Oriental Manuscripts Library, Madras, pp. xxxl + 28 + 971. Price Rs. 20/-. 1955.

Ābhoga belongs to the *Bhāmātī-Prasthāna* of the Śāṅkara-Vedānta. It is a commentary on the *Kalpataru* of Amalananda of the 13th century by Lakṣmīnṛsiṃha, son of Koṇḍu Bhaṭṭa and pupil of Nārāyaṇendra. The author of the *Ābhoga* has studied the original works with great care and has written an exhaustive running commentary on the *Kalpataru*. He has criticised *Parimala* wherever possible. He has, however, supported *Bhāmātī* and *Kalpataru*. The *Ābhoga* is very lucid and easy. It explains *Kalpataru* and *Bhāmātī* very clearly and is a very useful contribution to Śāṅkara-Vedānta.

The preface written by Sri S. S. Śāstrī has really added much to the value of the book. It contains a short chronological history of the writers on Śāṅkara-Vedānta which introduces our students to the original authors of the school.

The editors deserve all our praise and congratulations for their valuable efforts to make the edition good in every way. Students of Śāṅkara-Vedānta will be very much benefited by this contribution.

ŚRĪBHĀṢYAPRAKĀŚIKĀ by Śrīnivāsācārya. Edited by Śrī T. Chandraśekharaṇ, M.A., L.T., Curator, Government Oriental Manuscripts Library, Madras. Published in the Madras Government Oriental Manuscripts Series No. 48, pp. xxvi + 29 + vii + 311.

It is a well-known fact that the Government Oriental Manuscripts Library of Madras is very rich in having rare and important Sanskrit Manuscripts. The scholarly world is very much indebted to the editor and the curator for selecting rare manuscripts for publication like the *Śrībhāṣyaprakāśikā*. For this publication the editor has taken help of an incomplete copy of the manuscript belonging to Śrī Venkaṭeśvara Oriental Institute, Tirupati.

The work contains the summary of the Pūrvapakṣa and the Siddhānta of each and every Adhikaraṇa of the *Bādarāyaṇa Sūtra* as explained in the *Śrībhāṣya* and its commentaries. The style is very lucid, so it is very useful for our students to understand easily the substance of the views of Rāmānuja. The editor has taken great care to give a brief chronology of the authors on the *Bādarāyaṇasūtra* according to Rāmānuja and his followers. The preface gives a very lucid summary of the important views of the School. All this has added to the importance of the work. The Editor deserves our congratulations for his efforts to make the edition a great success.

DEVAKERALAM (CANDRAKALĀNĀPĪ) by Acyuta, Vol. II Pts. I-II. Edited by Śrī T. S. Ranganatha Josyar and published by the Government Oriental Manuscripts Library, Madras, Part I, Pages x+286. Part II, Pages vii+352. Price, Rs. 12/8/- for both the volumes. 1956.

It is a matter of great satisfaction that the Government of Madras has been publishing rare and useful books from its own Library. It is well-known that the best treasures of Indian mind are hidden in our manuscripts and efforts should be made in every part of our country to unearth them and bring them to the notice of scholars.

There were many Sciences of which we have records in our Śrutis, which are almost lost to us and any one who discovers and publishes books on those subjects deserves our thanks. The volumes under review are very important works on predictive astrology. It refers to various *aṁśas* of each and every *lagnas* and foretells the future of persons born in those *aṁśas*. If the *aṁśas* of the *lagna* of a person are correct, the forecast is very correct, but if the *aṁśas* are wrongly recorded then the *Devakeralam* is of no use. The volumes deserve careful study for the advancement of the science.

STUDIES IN LITERARY HISTORY, Vols. I & II by Dr. P. K. Gode, M.A., curator, Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, Poona; Published by the Bharatiya Vidya-bhavana, Bombay; Vol. I Pages xi+546, Vol. II. Pages iii+543. Price Rs. 20/- per Volume 1953-54.

Dr. P. K. Gode does not require any introduction. He is a well-known versatile scholar. He has devoted his whole life to the service of the Bhandarkar Research Institute. As the curator of rich collections of the Institute, he has every opportunity to study the treasures hidden in manuscripts preserved in the library. He has not only studied the rare manuscripts but has made use of his studies in writing articles now and then. It is very rare to get a scholar like Dr. Gode who is always ready to throw light

on almost every aspect of our culture. He has given us a good deal of information on several of our ancient arts and sciences which are practically lost.

The volumes under review are the collection of his valuable articles which number over 131. These articles when chronologically arranged cover a long period ranging from the 6th cen. down to the 15th cen. The articles are on varied subjects, mostly literary and cultural and are full of information, not otherwise available. They speak of the consistent perseverance of Dr. Gode in the field of Indology. The volumes are very useful for a student of cultural and literary history of India. Dr. Gode deserves our hearty congratulations for these volumes which have added much to our knowledge.

KṚTYAKALPATARU (VYAVAHĀRA and VRATAKĀṇḌA) by Lakṣmīdhara, Edited by Shri K. V. Rangaswami Aiyangar, Published by the Oriental Institute, Baroda. Vyavahārakāṇḍa, pages i - xvi + 846. Price Rs. 26-12-0, 1953. Vratākāṇḍa, pages xxxiv + 478. Price Rs. 17-0-0, 1953.

The Oriental Institute, Baroda under the able guidance of the General Editor and Director of the Institute Shri G. H. Bhatt, M.A., has been doing great service to the cause of Indology. It has published most important works on different branches of Indology.

1. *Vyavahārakāṇḍa*—Almost all the parts of the *Kalpataru* are very informative. Vyavahāra is not an exception. The author has collected all the available Smṛiti authorities on each and every topic and has explained the difficult and unpopular words. The scope of each topic is very wide and includes almost all the aspects of our social and religious duties.

Vrata-kāṇḍa forms the sixth section of the *Kṛtya-kalpataru*. This is exclusively devoted to Vratas (vows) which are observed by Hindus. The list of Vratas included in the volume shows that Lakṣmīdhara has made a very careful selection of vratas on the basis of tithi, māsa, samvatsara and nakṣatra. He has also added some miscellaneous vratas which are often observed in our life. All this shows that the volume contains only selective Vratas and it cannot claim to be exhaustive. So there are many important Vratas about which there is nothing in this volume. The method followed by the author in almost all his works is to collect authorities on each topic from old Smṛtis and Purāṇas and explain difficult words wherever necessary. He does not enter into any discussion on doubtful aspects or on questions where different views are found in the authorities. So the volumes are more or less only reference books on various topics. No doubt, the volumes speak very highly of the extensive study of the author. Perhaps during his time this was the method of writing books on Dharmaśāstra. However, it is a fact that these volumes contain vast information not easily available elsewhere.

The editor deserves our congratulations. He has taken great pains to add important matter in his footnotes. Not only he has tried to give variant readings of the texts, but has also sometimes given more information about the topic from different sources. His introduction in every volume shows his hard labour and genuine interest in the subject. The Director of the Oriental Institute also deserves our praise for his intelligent selection of works and their editors. Every library must possess a copy of these volumes.

VEDON MEN ĀYURVEDA by Vaidya Pt. Ramagopala Shastri of Lahore. Published by Lala Madan Mohanlal, Āyurvedika Anusandhāna Trust, Delhi. Pages 308, Price Rs. 10/, 1956

There is no doubt that the Vedas contain all knowledge. *Atharva-Veda* is indeed a mine of information regarding all our technical sciences including the Āyurveda. Of the nine Śākhās of the *Atharva-Veda*, only two, namely *Paippalāda* and *Śaunakīya*, are available. The author has utilised for his book material found in the Śaunakīya Śākhā. He has discussed the nature of various diseases and have quoted Mantras from the Vedas in support of his statements. From the study of the book under review we learn a good deal about the details of the nature of diseases not found in later works.

The book is very interesting and deserves encouragement.

SOME ASPECTS OF EDUCATION ON ANCIENT INDIA by Dr. C. K. Raja and Published by the Adyar Library in its series (No. 73). Page 111. Price Rs. 2-8-0, 1950.

The volume under reference contains two lectures delivered in the series—*Dewan Bahadur K. Krishnaswami Rao Endowment Lectures* in the University of Madras in 1949. The author has traced the history of Education from the early Vedic times down to the classical period. He has explained the nature and purpose of the different types of training given to disciples in order to make them worthy citizens of the State. He has also tried to find out synthesis between the various stages through which a disciple has to pass in the āśrama of his Ācārya and the type of education prescribed for them in our authoritative ancient texts. The book is very informative and interesting.

STUDIES IN JAIN PHILOSOPHY with a Foreword by Mm. Gopinath Kaviraj of Banaras. By Dr. Nathmal Tatia, M.A., D. Litt. (Cal) and published by Jain Cultural Research Society Banaras—5, pp. xxxv + 327. Price Rs. 16/- 1951.

The work under review is a doctorate thesis approved by the University of Calcutta for the degree of Doctor of Literature. Dr. Tatia is a scholar of Indian Philosophy. He has studied Darśna-Śāstra under eminent scholars of Banaras and is well-qualified to bring out such an authoritative work on Jaina Philosophy.

The book is divided into five chapters dealing with the various important aspects of Jain philosophy. The author has expounded the various problems very lucidly and authoritatively. He has given unbiased and correct interpretation of the Jaina texts. In order to explain Jaina doctrines, the author has gone beyond his limits and has dealt with the views of non-Jaina systems as well. This has, no doubt, added to the worth of the book. It is, however, difficult to agree with the author's criticisms of the views of other schools. Personally, I have no faith in these criticisms. In philosophical studies we should keep in mind that these different systems represent different angles of vision wherefrom they approach the ultimate truth quite independently. The founders of the schools did not start with an idea to find fault with others only. They mainly thought of expounding their views from a particular standpoint which they represented. So there must be difference between the schools. It is not correct to criticise other schools from one particular angle of vision. However, this is a fashion of the present day, but how far it is justified is to be carefully thought of. The only drawback which is found in this book is that it is devoted much more to the exposition of non-Jaina schools than to the Jaina

school. However, the author deserves all our congratulations, for such a nice work.

SOME PROBLEMS OF KANNADA LINGUISTICS—by C. R. Sankaran, M.A., Kannada Research Institute, Dharwar. Research Lectures Series no. 7, pages vi and 92. Price Rs. 1-8-0, 1954.

These are the three lectures by the author delivered at the Kannada Research Institute, Dharwar. The subjects of Kannada Philology are ably dealt with in this book. It has to be noted that the first Comparative Grammar of the Dravidian Languages was written by Dr. Caldwell in 1856. A second edition was published in 1875 and subsequently, there have been only reprints. Grierson's Linguistic Survey did not cover the South Indian Languages and they were incidentally treated in his Introductory Volume 1927, for the purpose of completeness of the study of North Indian Languages.

—A. S. Nataraja Ayyar.

INDIAN INHERITANCE, Vol. I, Literature, Philosophy and Religion, Bharatiya Vidya Bhavan, pp. xiv + 288. Price Rs. 1-4-0, 1955.

This work consists of 3 sections : Section 1 on Literature in 8 chapters, Section 2 on philosophy in 4 chapters and Section 3 on religion in 6 chapters.

The first chapter begins with the unique statement: "Sanskrit is India's one [unique] national heritage and whatever position Hindi may achieve as Vyavahāra Bhāṣā of the common languages of the future, the unity of India will collapse, if it ceases to be related to Sanskrit, or breaks away from the Sanskrit tradition." (Page 3) This section des-

cribes the Vedas, the Rāmāyaṇa, the Mahābhārata, the Purāṇas, the Kāvya and the Tamil literature.

The next section deals with Indian and Greek Philosophy, with Vedānta and *Bhagavadgītā*. An extract from Sister Nivedita's *Web of life* is also added. All these form excellent reading.

The 6 chapters on religion deal with Buddha, Śaṅkarācārya, Kabir, Caitanya, Mirābāi, Tulasidāsa and finally, with the Muslim saint Nizam-ud-din Auliya.

We need once again state that the chapters are only illustrative and not exhaustive of India's religion and philosophy; and much is left to the class-room and class-teacher who would use this book as a fundamental guide-book for his further studies. The book is well-written and gives an interesting reading.

—A. S. Nataraja Ayyar.

INDIAN INHERITANCE, Vol. II. Art, History and Culture, Bharatiya Vidya Bhavan, Chaupatty, Bombay, pp. xvi and 296. Price Rs. 1-4-0, 1956.

The book contains select extracts in 20 chapters from standard works on the subjects of Art, History and Culture. There are separate chapters on Indian Music, Indian Dance, Indian Art and Architecture and Indian Painting. The moral role of Indian Art by Radha Kamal Mukerji concludes this section.

The rest of the work on the culture and history of India contains *inter alia* useful chapters on the fundamental unity of India by Radha Kumud Mookerji and on the unity of Indian Religion by Aurobindo. The continuity of Indian culture is emphasized by Jawaharlal Nehru and the rest deal with the several epochs of Indian history.

A single extract from Jawaharlal Nehru's *Discovery of India* may be quoted to indicate the keynote to the entire volume:

"The central idea of old Indian civilization or Indo-Aryan culture was that of *Dharma* (धर्म) which was something much more than religion or creed. It was a conception of obligations, of the discharge of one's duties to oneself and to others. This dharma itself was part of *ṛta* (ऋत), the fundamental moral law governing the function of the universe and all it contained. If there was such an order then man was supposed to fit into it and he should function in such a way as to remain in harmony with it. If man did his duty and was ethically right in his action, the right consequences would inevitably follow. Rights as such were not emphasized. That, to some extent, was the old outlook everywhere. It stands out in marked contrast with the modern assertion of rights, rights of individuals, of groups, of nations." Page 109.

THE CULTURAL HERITAGE OF INDIA, Vol III. The Philosophies. Editor Prof. Haridas Bhattacharya, M. A., Published by the Ramakrishna Mission Inditute of Culture, Calcutta, 1953. Pages xxi and 695 Octavo. Price Rs. 30/.

The work under review, dealing in a comprehensive manner with the philosophies of India, excels all other previous attempts in that direction. Printing and get-up are excellent. It is divided in five parts. Part 1 deals in 7 chapters with the Sāṅkhyayoga, Nyāya, Vaiśeṣika, Pūrva-Mīmāṃsā and the Cārvākas. The most interesting chapter in this section is *The Rise of the Philosophical schools* by Dr. T. R. V. Murti of the Banaras Hindu University. The thesis of the

author is that Indian Philosophy must be interpreted as the flow of two streams—one having its source in the Ātman tradition of the Upaniṣads and the other in the Anātmavāda of Buddha. Each branched off into several streams. Throughout the course of their development they have remained true to their original inspirations. The Brahminical systems are wedded to Being and Buddhism to Becoming has now been set forth in his latest book—*The Central Philosophy of Buddhism*.

The chapter on Pūrva-Mīmāṃsā was revised by the late Mm. Chinnaswamy Sastri. The *apauruṣeyatva* of the Vedas and the validity of the vedas are dealt with so clearly that even a lay reader could easily follow. About the oft-disputed question of Gods and Deities in the Mīmāṃsā the author states: "Jaimini has not mentioned in his work anything about the existence of the omniscient, omnipotent, and all-merciful God, the creator, preserver and destroyer of the universe. Śabara and Kumārila are also silent on this point. But the later exponents of this system viz., Khaṇḍadeva and Gāgābhaṭṭa have clearly expressed their views on this point. They declare unhesitatingly that it is not the object of this philosophy to deny the existence of the benevolent God but to explain the real nature of the Vedic rites and ceremonies and other allied topics. They opine that about God and salvation the Pūrva-Mīmāṃsā system has nothing new to add to what has been so exhaustively discussed in the Uttara-Mīmāṃsā or Vedānta. Hence, there is no reason to conclude that Jaimini, Śabara and Kumārila did not believe in the existence of God or salvation" (page 167).

Part II deals with Vedānta. The first chapter in this section is by Mm. Ananta Krishna Sastry. It deals with the different interpretations on the *Brahma-Sūtra* by the several Ācāryas from Śaṅkara downwards and is characterized

by a clarity which is peculiarly the author's own. Advaita Vedānta is dealt with in five chapters. The spiritual significance of Advaita is fully dealt with but the contribution of Advaita to the catholicity of religious life in India is often ignored. It was Śaṅkara who preached Advaita from two standpoints viz. the identity of Brahman and the Jīva on the one hand and the *Abheda* of Śiva and Viṣṇu as the *Iṣṭa-devatās*; and no wonder that he is disliked by extremists in either camp. If the controversies about the greatness of Viṣṇu or Śiva as the *Iṣṭa-devatās* be a thing of the past, it is due to Śaṅkara's teachings and its effect on the practical side. The three schools of Śaṅkara Vedānta—*Bhāmatī* and its followers, the *Pañcapādikā* and the *Vivaraṇa* school following it, Sureśvara and Sarvajñātman following him, are accurately dealt with showing where and how they followed and explained Śaṅkara's teachings from different angles. Finally, the accommodating doctrine (निर्विरोधवाद), as Gauḍapāda calls it, is dealt with. Advaitism can accommodate all, placing each in its proper place in the panorama of world thought, leading all to the ultimate reality of Oneness. It is this spirit of accommodation and synthesis which places Vedānta on a glorious pedestal and claims for it the status of the world philosophy of the future" (Page 280).

Part III deals with the religious philosophies. Special mention should be made of the chapter on the philosophy of Śaivism by the late Prof. S. S. Suryanarayana Sastry. The differences between the two schools of Śaivism in the north and in the south—the Kashmir Śaivism and the Śaiva-Siddhānta of Tamil literature in the south, are well pointed out. It is shown how "the Śaivāgamaś, no less than the Upaniṣads, have provided the basis for every shade of philosophic thought from monism to pluralism, idealism to realism, but throughout there is insistence on knowledge

as the saviour, the insistence characteristic of the best Hindu thought (Page." 399).

Part IV deals with the problems of philosophy. The first and best chapter is on the *Religion of the Nyāya and Vaiśeṣika* by the late Mm. Dr. Sir Ganganatha Jha. Though in four pages only, it is the master stroke of a genius. The other best in this section is by Mm. Dr. Umesha Mishra on the *Nature of the physical world*. Students of philosophy have got the latest scientific account of the physical world from scientists like Jeans and Eddington; but the world and its nature according to the masters of Indian Philosophy have not been dealt with by any one up to now and this chapter is a unique contribution to Indian Philosophical knowledge by a savant who has drunk deep at the original sources of the Sanskrit texts first-hand.

Part V deals in seven chapters with the philosophical sciences. The best chapter is on *Indian theism*. It is no exaggeration to say that this chapter could compare with its English counterpart—the Philosophy of theism—the chapter by Dr. Hawkins in *The New Outline of Modern Knowledge*, 1956. Works on Indian Theism in English are still a desideratum.

The chapter on Indian Ethics is by the editor of the volume Dr. Haridas Bhattacharya. This contains the corrective to many a popular charge on Indian Ethics. With a wealth of learning the author has shown how Indian Ethics is perfect viewing individual perfection or social service as the ideals of moral perfection. The Brahminical morality and the universal duties are explained.

The concluding chapter is on the four values of life—Dharma, Artha, Kāma and Mokṣa by the late Prof. Hiriyanna. The Prabhākara doctrine of practising virtue *for its own sake* is well explained and the general kinship with Kant's teaching of the categorical imperative—i.e. a command about

which there is nothing contingent or conditional is shown. But this view of Dharma has not come to prevail after Maṇḍana Mishra who enunciated the principle that nothing prompts a man to acts of will but what is means to some desired end."

It should be admitted that no full justice could be done in a short review to a volume of such dimension. We happily look forward to review the next volume on the "Religions of India" in the same series.

—A. S. Nataraja Ayyar.

BHAGAVAD-GĪTĀ AND MODERN LIFE by Shri K. M. Munshi.
Bharatiya Vidya Bhavan pp. xviii and 274. Price
Rs. 1-12-0. 1955

The *Bhagavad-Gītā* has been commented in the present century by Tilak, Aurobindo, Gandhi and Radhakrishnan. Here is one more welcome addition by Shri K. M. Munshi. The *Bhagavad-Gītā* and Patañjali's *Yoga-sūtras* were practical guides to the author who now gives his experience to the students. He asks us : "you should therefore read the *Gītā* with the one purpose, that a sense of beautiful mystery should gather round you. Its significance will then shine within you like a star that will reveal to you the beauty and strength which are hidden within yourself". And as the mystery grows, you will be led to self-fulfilment." (Page xviii Introduction).

The book contains 45 chapters in six parts viz.—
Place and meaning of the *Gītā*, Svabhāva (स्वभाव), the basis of personality, unity which is Yoga, Yoga is perfection in action, Brahmacarya the path divine and the Search of the spirit.

The message of the *Gītā* given in the book in bold type is worth reproduction:

"God is and informs and upholds the Creation; the Spirit is His expression in man and the Law of the Spirit is supreme.

The aim of a man's efforts is to transform himself, his fellow-beings and the material world so that the Spirit is unfolded in life and God becomes manifest.

To understand, to realise and to follow the Law of Moral Causation is the first step towards the discovery and unfolding of the Spirit in life. In its aspects of non-violence, truth, non-stealing, non-waste and non-possession this law supports the moral order in the Universe. It is ineluctable; it imposes upon man the need to keep to the purity of means as much as to the ends. No man may achieve good by wicked means, be a devil in order to emerge as a god.

The divine element in man is the Fundamental Aspiration which yearns for Light, Love, Beauty, Bliss, Joy, Freedom and Calm. Because of this, he is not an atom moved by physio-chemical laws; not merely a unit of life, like an amoeba; not a bundle of instinctive reactions, like an animal; not even a thinking machine as he believes himself to be. Because of it, he is a spark of divinity whose destiny lies towards God."

This edition is very interesting and useful for students.

EAST-WEST FIRE. SCHOPENHAUER'S OPTIMISM AND THE LANKĀVATĀRA SŪTRA by Charles Muses, London, p. 67.

Price 2-0-0, 1955.

Schopenhauer occupies a distinct place amongst the philosophers of the West.

The *Lankāvatāra Sūtra* is one of the important works of the Mahāyāna school of Buddhism. It is a very difficult, if not impossible task to compare works separated by time and distance in fact belonging to different ages and

cultures. The author has dealt with the vast background of pertinent data against which the two doctrines of the East and the West flourished. Equivalent conclusions reached through different paths of reflection in places widely separated by cultural dis-similarities are interesting. The book presents an interesting reading.

THE REHLA OF IBN BATTŪTA (Indiā, Maldivē Islands and Ceylon)—Translation and Commentary. By Dr. Mahdi Husain, M.A., Ph. D.; D. Lit., Published by the Oriental Institute, Baroda in the Gaekwad's Oriental Series No. CXXII. Pages xxvii + 300, Maps 8; Illustrations 17. Price Rs. 37-0-0., 1953.

Dr. Mahdi Hasan has indeed done a yeoman's job in re-translating the *Rehla* of Ibn Battutah. His contribution lies in collating the available Mss. in consulting the existing translations, in adding to and improving upon them, and in enriching the present edition with copious and informative footnotes and commentaries. And to this extent his efforts are commendable, and deserve the attention and gratitude of students of Indian History.

But unfortunately in his enthusiasm to assess the importance of the *Rehla*, he has overshot the mark and has lost himself in exaggerations, generally associated with the style of Medieval Historians. It is difficult to sustain the claims he has put forward on behalf of the Moorish traveller whom he classes with the Arab geographers and travellers of the 8th, 9th and 10th centuries.

Dr. Hasan considers the *Rehla* to be a mine of history. But when we dig it, ridiculous pieces bewilder our eyes and leave us gaping. As for instance : Razia was persecuted by Ruknuddin; She fought Nasiruddin; Balban killed his royal master; Muhammad Tughlaq transferred his capi-

tal to Daulatabad because the inhabitants of Delhi threw abusive letters in the palace, or that he compelled a lame and a blind man to trek 700 miles; the rice and coin stored in the time of Balban was found to retain the original taste when taken out during the reign of Muhammad Tughlaq; the stair-case of Qutb Minar is so wide that even elephants can ascend it; Sultan Qutbuddin Aibek intended to build another similar Minar; Muhammad Tughlaq wanted to complete it, but gave up the project considering it to be ominous. These are a few jewels from the mine.

The fact of the matter is that practically the entire historical narrative of the Moorish traveller, referring to the period preceding his arrival in India is a mixed yarn, and as such almost unworthy of credence. And even for events of which he claims to have been an eyewitness, his testimony should be only cautiously accepted. Like many other modern and medieval travellers, he was fond of gossip and of good life. He was neither gifted with the judgment of a critic or the urge of a historian. Stranger still that after 8 years of stay in the court and having enjoyed intimate contacts with the masses and classes alike, he should have written in such an irresponsible manner.

Dr. Hasan has not fought shy of interpreting words in his own way. For example, according to him *al-nas* changes its meanings in its different contexts. Sometimes it means the army; at others the people. Or again, he has traced the derivation of *ghūlwāniyān* from *gwālā* or cowherd, and by a peculiar process of reasoning has translated it as keeper of horses; there being no difference between cows and horses, perhaps because both live in herds. Very likely the correct word is *ghūlbaniyan*, *ghūl* means a herd.

Dr. Hasan has taken pains to point out phases of Hindu-Muslim concord which was growing during the medieval period. But in this also, occasionally, he goes rather too far. Ibn Batturah uses the word *ahlul-Hind* very likely

in a general sense, meaning his co-religionists. But to Dr. Hasan it provides an example of Hindu-Muslim amity. Or again, describing the Id celebrations. Ibn Battutah writes : "Then enter the musicians, the first batch being the daughters of the infidel rajas—Hindus—Captured in war that year. They sing and dance, and the Sultan gives them away to the *amirs* and *aizza*." Another example of Hindu-Muslim relations of goodwill and fraternity ! Such instances of interpretation may be multiplied.

In short, though the Rehla is a useful source of information for contemporary history, it does not deserve that fulsome praise which has been showered upon it by the learned Doctor. Undoubtedly, the present edition which is a revised and comprehensive version of the original in English fills a gap in the source material of the period which deals with.

—B. P. Saksena.

TRIPURI—By Dr. Moreshwar G. Dikshit, published by the Government of Madhyapradesh, pages x+139 with xlv plates and 46 figures, 1952.

Tripuri was a full-fledged capital of a dynasty which has left a permanent mark on the region by its lofty temples, architecture and numerous archaeological finds which are scattered throughout the region. The excavations were conducted here for two successive seasons in 1952-53 to trace the antiquity of the region to an earlier period than the Kalacuris. This is a detailed report of the excavations which have "fully justified the potentialities by the finding of a numerous objects through successive strata and have further carried back the antiquity of the Tripuri site to the protoneolithic period". The site has been divided into five periods the earliest one goes back to 1,000 B.C.

The Haihiagad mound is the actual place where the main operations were conducted. This mound represents the western most limit of the ruins of Tripuri. It is bounded by a rivulet, called Vanagangā. This excavation revealed the presence of 10 or 11 principal layers which constituted a height of about 23 feet above the natural soil.

It is a matter of great pleasure that the excavator has found the microlithic industry associated with painted wares below the Mauryan level. It corroborates the results of other excavated sites in India viz. Brahmagiri, Nāsik and gorwe (Dist. Ahmednagar), Bahal etc. At Hathiagad (Tripuri) microliths occur in dark compact soil.

The soak pits or ring-wells were found at a depth of 6 feet and 7 inches below the surface. Dr. Dikshit found a loose domical lid in one of the ring-wells exposed by erosion in an adjoining area in Hathiagad. On the basis of which he thinks that the topmost ring of each soak pit was probably filled with a loose domical lid. According to the author, they were meant for throwing rubbish. But it may be pointed out that in other sites this is not the case. Recently, the *K. P. Jayaswal Research Institute* did some excavations under my supervision at Mahabirghat (Patna City). There I found several soak-pits within a distance of a few feet. Some of these soak-pits were going even into the natural soil. Some of them were hollow up to a depth of about 9 feet and from other evidences it seems to me that these terracotta ring-wells were used for throwing rubbish or for drinking wells.

In Bihar and Uttar Pradesh there are several places such as, Pataliputra, Kumrahar, Gaya, Laksāgriha etc. where such ring-wells or soak-pits have been found. So the list and the map which Dr. Dikshit has illustrated in this report is not complete. It would have been much better to collect the entire material available in India and then make this section complete.

The Dharma Karaka type of wares (Types 187-189) has been found according to the excavator from several ancient sites in India including Tripuri where its distribution is confined to stratum IV only. It may be pointed out that this type of wares has also been found by me in Kumrahar excavations, but they belong to period IV i.e., c. 300 to 450 A.D. Exactly identical terracotta spacers (Fig. 36 : 52-55) as have been found from the stratum IV of Tripuri have been found in recent excavations at Mahābirghat (Patna City). Some of these spacers which have been unearthed at Mahābirghat have also human shapes. So it seems that not only in Deccan but also in Northern India it was a favourite design during the Sunga period.

The last chapter is devoted to technical reports by various writers. It is good that Dr. Dikshit has incorporated in his report such technical sections also.

The archaeological photographs should be always of high standard. The photographs in the book under review needs further improvement. However, it is a great pleasure to the archaeological world that Dr. Dikshit has been able to publish the results of his excavations.

It is most disappointing that in India a number of private institutions are carrying out excavations but they are not in a position to publish their results. It is very necessary that the reports be published and be available to others for comparative study. We are grateful to the University of Sagar as well as the Government of Madhya Pradesh for publishing such an interesting publication.

—V. Mishra.

A DESCRIPTIVE CATALOGUE OF MANUSCRIPTS in the Kannada Research Institute, Dharwar, Vol. I, By Vidyaratna R. S. Panchamukhi M. A., xii. 132, pp, 1953, Price Rs. 5/-.

This volume is a catalogue of manuscripts preserved in the Karnāṭaka Manuscripts Library, which forms a branch of *Kannada Research Institute*, Dharwar. It gives, as the title indicate available information about the manuscripts described herein and their contents with relevant extracts. The manuscripts are all in Kannada language or with Kannada Commentaries. Fifty seven manuscripts in all, have been described in this volume, of which nineteen are classified under Puranas, thirtyseven under Religion and one under Dharmaśāstra. Most of these works deal with Vīraśaivism while there are a few on Jainism and Brahmanism. In his brief foreword, Sri R. S. Panchamukhi, has drawn attention to some important manuscripts. The manuscripts noticed in this volume are not unfamiliar to Kannada scholars. But manuscripts, although they are duplicate copies, are sometimes required for editing and collating purposes. Viewed in this light, it is hoped that this collection of manuscripts will prove useful to scholars engaged in the study of Kannada literature.

—V. Hanumanthachar.

CULTURAL FREEDOM IN ASIA. The Proceedings of a Conference held at Rangoon. Burma, on February, 17—20, 1955, and convened by the Congress for Cultural Freedom and the Society for the Extension of Democratic Ideals; (Charles E. Tuttle Company, Rutland Vermont, Tokyo, Japan). Pages 296. Price, outside Asia £-/14/4, in Asia Rs. 4/12/-, 1956.

The effect of the world war II on the Asian countries was unique. These countries which were struggling hard for decades to have economic and political independence achieved their object mainly as a result of the war. But independence did not come alone; it brought in its wake several problems—economical, political, social, cultural, etc. requiring solution. As a result of foreign domination for a long period, the traditional way of life in these countries was neglected and the foreign culture was not fully assimilated and digested, consequently, when they are now left alone to manage their affairs, they find themselves in a state of dilemma. While drastic and far-reaching reforms and changes are introduced in some countries, the affairs in some are in a state of confusion. In this perspective the present volume is in the nature of a stock taking by the Asian countries, of what they were before the foreign domination and what they are now after independence in all spheres of life, so that they may make the next move.

The volume is a collection of papers contributed to the above conference by scholars representing the various Asian countries about the problems facing them. The topics covered by these papers relate to the New Resurgence in Asia, The Intellectual Impact of the West on Eastern Aesthetics, The Legacy of the past, The State and the Individual, The State and the Minorities and Totalitarian Threats to cultural freedom. In most of these papers there appears to be a feeling that the culture and civilisation of Asian countries are out of date and require overhauling in order to bring them in line with the modern culture of the west. It would be well to remember in this connection that the traditional culture of the Asian countries has survived several invasions and foreign domination and that the ways living and thinking of at least of some Asian countries, are appreciated and admired by western intellectuals to-day. The concluding observation of Prof. Hajima Nakamura,

Professor of Oriental Philosophy, Tokyo University, Japan is worth noting "However, it is not wildly improbable that the people of Asia will manage to carry out the economic development which they need so urgently without impairing the prestige of their traditional faith."

—V. Hanumanthachar.

OBITUARY

Dr. Amaranatha Jha was born on February 2, 1897. He was the second son of the late Mahāmahopādhyāya Dr. Sir



Ganganatha Jha who by birth belonged to Mithila (North Bihar) but spent his life mainly in Uttar Pradesh. Pandit Amaranatha Jha was a student of the local Colonelganj Middle School (now an Intermediate College) in 1903—06. He passed the School Leaving Certificate Examination in 1913 from the local Government College, Intermediate Examination in 1915, B.A. in 1917 and M.A. in 1919 from

the Muir Central College attached to the Allahabad University. In all these examinations he obtained first division and position with great credit.

His knowledge of English language was much better than that of a graduate, even in his school days which he owed to the late Mr. Mackenzie, the then Principal of the Training College, and later on, to Professor S. G. Dunn, Professor of English, Muir Central College and of the Allahabad University. Mr. Dunn was so much impressed with his knowledge of English that he got him appointed as a Professor of English in the Muir Central College in 1917 at the age of twenty even before he took his M.A. degree. This is really a great distinction which Dr. Amaranatha Jha achieved. In the re-organised Allahabad University Dr. Amaranatha Jha held almost all the important posts from

time to time. He was the librarian, Registrar, Dean of the Faculty of the Arts, Head of the English Department and ultimately, the Vice-Chancellor for three terms. Besides, even when a teacher he was associated with almost all the activities of the University in such a way that he used to say that it seemed as if even the bricks of the University buildings loved and respected him.

His field of action was very wide. There was hardly any Academic project in the country where his assistance was not sought. He was the Vice-Chancellor of the Banaras Hindu University, the chairman of the Public Service Commission U. P. and Bihar. He was elected as the president of the Hindi Sahitya Sammelana, Inter-University Board, and many other all-India Institutions and Associations. He was also responsible to give a shape to the Indian Defence Academy. In whatever field he worked, he was most successful. He was a constructive worker for the cause of Education.

He was a Scholar, a teacher and an administrator. He had great consideration for self-respect. He loved his students and helped them in need. He had great taste for fine arts. He was well-versed in Sanskrit, Hindi and Urdu. He was very generous. A large portion of his income was spent in giving charity and purchasing books.

As far as the Ganganatha Jha Research Institute is concerned, it may be said that he was its very life. He helped the Institute with donations, collected donations and guided its destiny from far and near. He was a Vice-President since its very inception. It was exclusively due to his efforts that the Government gave the Institute a plot for its buildings in the local Alfred Park.

Such a great personality passed away on August 2, 1955 at the age of 59 at Patna. He had lost his wife much earlier. He had no issue. It was a great shock to the progress of the Institute. In his death its future appeared

quite dark. The Institute paid its most sincere and respectful tribute to Dr. Amaranatha Jha in a condolence resolution.

Unfortunately, the Institute suffered another loss within a few months in the death of his eldest brother Capt. Dr. Bhavanatha Jha who was one of its life-member and also the representative of the family of the late Mahamahopādhyāya Dr. Sir Ganganatha Jha to its General Council. The Institute recorded its sense of deep sorrow, by passing a condolence resolution at his sad demise.

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हरिद्वार

अथ धर्मसिद्धान्तसंहिता

श्रीगणेशाय नमः

यच्छ्रीधामस्वभावोदितपदपदवीमाश्रितं यत्परेषा-
सानन्वामन्दकन्दास्पदमरधुनीधारयाप्लाव्य विश्वम् ।
यद्भट्टाचार्यकार्योचितमुचितपथा यद्वरीवति नित्यं
श्रीमच्छास्त्रोदितश्रीविदितमविदितं मानसं ब्रह्म तन्मे ॥१॥
सिद्धान्तीकृतसंसारवासनाबद्धमेखला ।
लक्ष्मीरालम्बितेशेन निर्गुणे गुणमिच्छता ॥२॥
तत्कर्कालङ्कारसिद्धान्तभट्टाचार्यः करोम्यहम् ।
धर्मार्थकामसिद्ध्यर्थं धर्मसिद्धान्तसंहिताम् ॥३॥
प्राग्दम्पत्योः प्रीतिकरं धर्मं वक्ष्ये सनातनम् ।
यत्प्रीत्यैव जगत्सर्वं सानन्दं सुखमश्नुते ॥४॥
तत्राप्येकमनसः स्वधर्मकृतसौहृदाः ।
शिष्याः शृणुध्वं नारीणां त्रिवर्गफलसाधनम् ॥५॥
प्राग्धर्मार्थकरिं विद्यां ततः कामवरेश्वरीम् ।
नारी नरो वा शृणुयात्सोऽनपत्यो न जायते ॥६॥
संसारानलतप्तोऽपि न स दुःखमवाप्स्यति ।
देवर्षिपितृकार्याणामुन्नतिं यो विधास्यति ॥७॥
न राजा भ्रष्टराज्यः स्यान्न दुःखी दुःखमाप्नुयात् ।
नानपत्यो भवेदचस्तु शृणुयाद्धर्मसंहिताम् ॥८॥
पतिशुश्रूषणं तत्र स्त्रीधर्मो यदमायया ।
तन्मार्थकामानाप्नोति सती तेनैव जायते ॥९॥
सती सत्यमवाप्नोति लोके शोकं न विदति ।
न चेहनिन्दामाप्नोति पतिमुन्नयति स्वयम् ॥१०॥

पतिप्रियज्ञापनवासनावती

प्रियप्रियार्थोदयवासनावती ।

सती सतामप्यसतीव शाश्वती

सती सतीनामसतीव सां सती ॥११॥

धर्मसिद्धान्तसंहिता

सा सत्यलोकमधिगच्छति सत्यवन्ति

यस्या वचांसि पतितानि भवन्ति पत्युः ।

सेह स्वधर्ममनुविन्दति सार्थमेति

किं काममेति किमु तोषणतो न पुत्रम् ॥१२॥

मनसा वचसेह कर्मणा

पतिशुश्रूषणमेव मे बलम् ।

सुरलोकसुधां

मुधाक्षिपत्

समये वाचि सतीषु विद्यते ॥१३॥

सत्यनङ्गकृतसङ्गविहङ्गे चातुरीतुरगसङ्गर्णभूमौ ।

पत्युरेव हृदये निवहन्ती सा सती भवति सत्यवतीषु ॥१४॥

सत्यशौचसहिते हितकारि प्रेयसि प्रियतमा न सती चेत् ।

आत्मजादिरहिता न हिता किं शौचमाचरति चेत्सुतहेतुः ॥१५॥

षोडशर्तुदिननिन्दितपर्ववर्जयन्त्यतिसुखानि समेषु ।

सा दिनव्रतशिवार्चनचित्ता प्राश्य लाजमिह लालनमेतु ॥१६॥

आदिमे स्वपचवेषवतीव कोण एव निलये निवसन्ती ।

खर्परेऽल्पजलभोजनभाजि भोजने भवतु सा रसहीना ॥१७॥

सा द्वितीयदिवसे वसचित्ता प्रेक्षणादिकृतवन्त्यनिमित्ता ।

धान्यकाणनकणोदनचित्ता पत्युरेव मुखमीषवतीव ॥१८॥

एवं तृतीयदिवसे कृतदन्तशौचस्नानादिकर्मरहिता गृहकोणमध्ये ।

सूर्यं न वान्यपुरुषं परिलोकयन्ती चित्ते स्वधर्ममनिमित्तमवासयन्ती ॥१९॥

सा चतुर्थदिवसोदयवेलाव्यापि देवपतिसंस्मरणेन ।

स्नानमाविदधती सुतकामा शुद्धिमावहति भोगविरामा ॥२०॥

प्रातरन्यकृतवर्तुलवेशे गोमयोदकविशुद्धचतुष्के ।

ताम्रपात्रकृतचन्दनरक्तमण्डलेऽर्कमिव मध्यदिनेऽर्के ॥२१॥

मङ्गलोदधिवती कृतधूपा रूपराशिमवलोक्य सदीपा ।

अर्कपुष्पसहिताञ्जलिमर्कमावलोकयतु पुष्पवती सा ॥२२॥

सायमस्य शिवपूजनसिद्धिविद्यनन्तरमहन्यहनीह ।

योगमात्मनि बाह्वर्बहुभोगमाचरन्त्यनु सतीव सती सा ॥२३॥

पञ्चमादिषु समेषु वसन्ती पत्युरेव निकटे सुतकामा ।

कीटिकामकर्मनीयकुमारं सा तृयिष्यति सतीव कुमारम् ॥२४॥

धर्मसिद्धान्तसंहिता

पञ्चमादिविषमे विधियोगाद्भोगमाचरति शोणितवत्याम् ॥

कन्यकैकसहिते दशमेऽह्नि तत्त्रयोदशदिनेऽप्यसमाङ्गी ॥२५॥

शुक्रशोणितवती समभावाद्वा नपुंसकवती भवितेह ।

पर्वणीह न मनागपि चित्तं यद्दधातु न विधास्यति चित्तम् ॥२६॥

राजसूनुरिव भोगविहारभागभुवि स्वयमिहेष्यति षष्ठे ।

कन्यका कमललोचनचारुचन्द्रमा भवति सप्तमकेऽह्नि ॥२७॥

अष्टमे नवसमृद्धिभिरेष सिद्धिभिर्द्विजवरार्पितचित्तः ।

शोभना भगवती सुरलोकगामिनी भवति चेन्नवमेऽह्नि ॥२८॥

दशरथोऽर्थिभिरर्थवतीं श्रियं

स दशमेऽह्नि विधाय विधिक्रियाम् ।

स्वजनिमात्मन एवमनुक्षणं

विगतरागवती विदधे स्वयम् ॥२९॥

अथ दशैकदिने विगतस्पृहा

भवति भोगसमेऽह्नि नपुंसकम् ।

जनयति द्वयमेवमतः परं

त्रिदशमावधि वा स्वमतःपरम् ॥३०॥

षोडशावधिविधिप्रियकर्मकारिणीं विषमभे विहारिणी ।

ईश्वरं समदिने जनयन्ती भाविनी भुवि पदं न नयन्ती ॥३१॥

दशविधां न दधाति जनेः क्रियां

शतसमावधि सो विधिविक्रियम् ।

भजति कर्मफलोदयसंस्क्रियां

कृपणधीर्न दधाति पुरः श्रियम् ॥३२॥

वेदवाद्विदिताखिलभोगभागिनी भवति सा जगदम्बा ।

यत्स्वधर्मजनितोऽखिलकर्मकारकोऽस्तु परमोपकारकः ॥३३॥

न स्त्रीणामपरमनङ्गसङ्गिनीनामानन्दात्तदुदयभुङ्गसङ्गिनीनाम् ।

पुत्रार्थादिह किमपि स्वसङ्गिनीनामस्ति स्वं पतिरतिरेव कामिनीत्वाम् ॥३४॥

पतिगतिमतिवेदनां स्मरन्ती रतिपतिनात्सरति न वासयन्ती ।

पतिमिव रतिमेव साधयन्ती हृदि सदयं सुविधाय सार्धयन्ती ॥३५॥

या पद्मार्ण्यभि न जहाति सद्वृत्तार्थं कोऽर्थोऽर्थैरिह जननीति विश्रतायाः ।

जातो हि स्वयमिह जन्मलग्नतोऽर्वागर्थघ्नः किमु भवतीह न स्वमातुः ॥३६॥

धर्मसिद्धान्तसंहिता

पूर्णमा भवति भुवीह पर्वगर्भविष्टम्भे पितृदिनमात्मनो विभूत्यै ।
 संक्रान्तिः पितृभमदृश्य मूलमेतन्नो जाने निजजनिमात्मनि स्थितस्य ॥३७॥
 एवं या स्त्री स्त्रीस्वभावा व्यलीकसंयातार्था स्वार्थमभ्येति लोके ।
 सा स्वलोकं याति धर्मार्थकामपूर्णा तूर्णं सा सती सत्यमेत्य ॥३८॥
 योऽस्याः सत्त्वं वर्णयेद्वर्णनीयैरार्यत्वाद्यैर्वारितोऽप्यात्मविद्भिः ।
 सोऽर्थयुक्तोऽयुक्तदौर्भाग्यमुक्तो भुक्त्वा भोगान् युक्तलोकानुपैति ॥३९॥
 योऽस्यामात्मन्यात्मनोऽंशं निवेश्य प्रादुर्भावं नैति न स्यात्समर्थः ।
 चेन्मोक्षार्थी व्यर्थतामेति तस्य न्यासोऽन्यायास्त्रीयमानो नितान्तम् ॥४०॥
 नैनां निन्दति लोको निःशोकः कोपि मूढधीरस्याम् ।
 घटयति दोषमदुष्टां नटयति नाट्ये नटीं वश्याम् ॥४१॥
 यो मान्यामुपनयतीह यज्ञकर्मण्यस्यैषो विधिरधिकः प्रशंसनीयः ।
 यश्चैनामुपनयतीह कर्म तस्य व्यर्थं स्याच्छुभयशसेऽप्यनाश्रमस्य ॥४२॥
 नास्यां यो जनयति जातु गर्भजातोऽप्यात्मानं कविवरवर्णनीयवृत्त्याम् ।
 आत्मघ्नो भवति भुवि प्रतापहीनः स्वलोके गतिरपि तस्य दुर्लभैव ॥४३॥
 योऽनुप्तास्यां बीजमव्याहृतोर्व्यां सुस्थः शेते कर्मकृद्धर्मवेत्ता ।
 सोऽनैष्कर्म्ये बीजितार्थादद्यभावाद्वर्माभावे याति कर्मात्मनैव ॥४४॥
 यो नैष्कर्म्यं याति चार्थादद्यभावे ज्ञानोत्पत्त्या वाप्यथोऽज्ञानदृष्टिः ।
 धातुः सृष्ट्यामष्टसिद्धाप्रसिद्धो भूत्वा भयो भूततामेति लोके ॥४५॥
 भ्रान्त्वा लोकानोकसोऽशोकतायै ज्ञानेऽप्येषां शोकमभ्येत्य शेषे ।
 आयुष्यर्थे वा कलेः सन्नियोगादयोगान्मुक्तो भोगनिर्मुक्तिमेति ॥४६॥
 तस्मादशेषगुणवर्णवतीषु धन्यां मान्यामपास्य न विशेदविसंशनीयम् ।
 योगं यया कलियुगे युगधर्मभोगा योगीकृताऽकृतधियो हि तया रमन्तु ॥४७॥

इति विविधविधानैरानयन्ती नितान्तं

जनिमिह निजभर्तुर्भाविनी भूतलेऽस्मिन् ।

परिणतपरिवारावारणेन्द्रप्रचारा

भवति भवविहारा भर्तरीति श्रुतेऽस्मिन् ॥४८॥

इति श्रीमत्कान्यकुब्जधीरघुनन्दनतर्कालङ्कारसिद्धान्तवागीशभट्टाचार्यविरचितायां
 धर्मसिद्धान्तसंहितायां सतीसत्योपाख्यानं प्रथमोऽध्यायः ।

अथ द्वितीयोऽध्यायः

अथ प्राचीनानां परिचयविधानैविधिवशा-

द्विधीनामाधानम्भवति नृबगम्भस्य निधिषु ।

स्वधर्मस्य स्त्रीषु स्वजनवनितानन्दलहरी-

महिम्नैवास्नायव्यवहृतमपेक्ष्येह चरितम् ॥१॥

इति यदि न भवेदभेदबुद्धिर्ध्रुवमपरिस्कृतकामकोटिलीला ।

परजनविषये क्षयेतरत्र स्वपतिमपेक्ष्य सुलक्षिता कथञ्चित् ॥२॥

विहरति स दिवौकसां समीपे सुदृढसमागमसावधानगुर्व्या ।

भजति च नवजन्मभूमिमात्मश्रवणकरीमवलम्ब्य यश्च नान्याम् ॥३॥

निजपतिमनिवेद्य वादयन्ती सरसकथारसिकैरपास्य मार्गम् ।

निशि कथमपि सा सती न तस्या नरकविधावधि वासितोऽन्धमिश्रः ॥४॥

यमदिशि यमयातनां नयन्तीमपगतिमप्यवशेष्य जन्मनान्धाम् ।

अवसगतितया विहाय कान्तश्रवणकथामवतारयन्ति भूयः ॥५॥

यदि तदुभयथा स्वकीयपापव्यसनमलीनमपाकरोतु कान्ता ।

कथमपि कथनीयसत्कथाभिः स शिवशिवामधिवासयेत्प्रदोषे ॥६॥

निजपतिमपहाय चारगर्भश्रवणभयात्परिपातितार्भकांशा ।

निपतति पतिलोकतो नितान्तम्भवति पुनर्भवनेऽत्र जन्मवन्ध्या ॥७॥

स्रवति न पुनरस्याः श्रावणे मासि गर्भे

सति सविधिशिवार्चासाधनाधानगुर्व्याम् ।

यदि पिबति ससर्पाक्ष्येकरुद्राक्षमादौ

ऋतुसमयमुपेत्य क्षीरसंरक्षिताङ्गी ॥८॥

त्रिदिनमपि समीपात्सप्तरात्रं पिबन्ती

व्यपगतभयशोकोद्वेगवाद्द्व्यचिन्ता ।

स्वपतिकृतसपर्यां क्षीरशाल्यन्नमुदगा-

शनविधिषु सगर्भा जायते सद्ब्रूतेन ॥९॥

अथ कथमपि देवादेकपुत्रान्वितापि

व्यभिचरति च गर्भम्पातयत्यन्यजातम् ।

परजनपरिवादात्पातकाद्भर्तृहीना

व्यपकृतनिजगर्भज्जायते काकवन्ध्या ॥१०॥

रविदिनसविध्वतं चरन्त्याः क्षयमुपयान्ति शनैः स्वपातकानि ।
 स्पृह्योति यदि पुत्रमत्र कुर्यात्प्रियहरिवंशकथाभिरनेसोऽन्तम् ॥११॥
 हरिवंशकथा श्रुता भवेद्यदि पुत्रादिफलप्रदायिनी ।
 विधिवच्छ्रुतिगोचरीकृता क्षितिपालैर्भवतीह भोगदा ॥१२॥
 या काचिन्निजपालितस्य च पशोर्वत्सान् हिनस्त्यात्मने
 विश्वास्य द्विजदेवतागुरुजनावज्ञां वृथा सेवते ।
 या भर्तृव्यपकारिणी स्वमनसाप्याज्ञामवज्ञाय च
 स्वेष्टस्याचरति व्रतं यदि पुनर्वन्ध्यापि नष्टात्मजा ॥१३॥
 या स्यान्नष्टात्मजा सा स्वकृतफलवतां कर्मणामाविपाकात्
 श्रुत्वा स्वात्मोदयस्य प्रविदितपदवीं संहितोक्तां समन्तात् ।
 कर्मण्यार्यैः स्वनार्य्या निजनयनपथे नार्य्या कारितानि
 स्युश्चेत्स्यात्सा भवानी बहुगुणगणाढ्या भवाराधनेन ॥१४॥
 या नष्टात्मजतां दधाति न पुनर्गर्भं च या सेवते
 वन्ध्या वा विधवाऽथवा यदि गृहस्यार्द्धं द्विजायार्पयेत् ।
 सर्वस्माद्वरवस्तुनोऽप्यथ तदा नात्मानमासादये-
 दन्याय्यैर्नयनोत्सवैरपि सती सौख्यं लभेच्छाश्वतम् ॥१५॥
 सत्यासत्यमुपैति लोकममृतं पुण्यैरपुण्येतरान्
 लोकानोप्सितकार्यसिद्धिविषये स्मार्तानिहाराधयेत् ।
 धर्मान् स्वर्गमनावृतं बहुविधैर्यज्ञैर्द्विजाग्र्यार्चनात्
 सन्तानं समुपैति पावनयशोऽतिथ्यर्चनोत्सवदा ॥१६॥
 राधाकृष्णस्वरूपे विधिवदधिगतश्रद्धयाराध्य गुर्व्या,
 योर्व्यां सन्तोषयन्ती सकृदनुपगते दम्पतीपूजनेन ।
 सा स्वर्लोकानुपैति श्रियमपि सततं शाश्वतञ्चाधिपत्यं
 पत्या सार्द्धं विहारैरुपनयति सुखं पुत्रपौत्रान्वितेन ॥१७॥
 गर्भाधानमृती शुभेऽह्नि विधिवत्कुर्यात्तु पूर्णायुषे
 स्पन्दात्पुंसवनं पुरैव जननी गर्भाज्जसम्पूतये ।
 षष्ठे वाऽष्टममासि गर्भजननव्यापारसंशुद्धये
 सीमन्तं प्रथमस्य पुंसवनमप्यस्यात्मजस्याचरेत् ॥१८॥
 नान्दीश्राद्धेनाचचयेदार्धवृत्त्या स्वाशीःप्राप्त्यै तावदाजातकर्म ।
 कुर्यान्नालच्छेदेनात्पूर्वमेध सूतीरक्षामग्निना डाकिनीभ्यः ॥१९॥

कर्माण्यस्यां गर्भपुंसीमजातचत्वार्युक्तान्युक्तिभिर्युक्तिपूर्वम् ॥
 कृत्वा शुद्धिं नाम चैकादशेऽह्नि विद्वद्वर्यैः कारयेत्कर्महेतु ॥२०॥
 वर्णस्पष्टार्थेन युक्तं द्विजानां विप्रादीनामीप्सितार्थप्रकासि ।
 कुर्याद्विद्याभूविभूत्यादियुक्तं शर्मा वर्मा गुप्त एषोऽधुनेति ॥२१॥
 शुद्धस्थैतदासवच्चार्थशून्यं नाम न्यायान्यूनतामेति येन ।
 तत्कर्मवास्योद्दिशेन्नामपूर्वं नैवापूर्वं जातु कश्चिद्विदध्यात् ॥२२॥
 कर्माणि स्युर्गर्भपुंसीमजातनामान्यस्य ज्ञातयश्चेन्द्रियाणाम् ।
 श्रोत्रत्वक्चक्षूरसृज्ज्ञानशानां संशुध्यर्थानि क्रमेणेरितानि ॥२३॥
 श्रुत्वा दृत्य श्रोतवाक्यान्यथापि योऽसौ गर्भः स श्रुतिज्ञानयुक्तः ।
 पुंसो जातं सावनं यस्य पूर्वं स्पन्दात्वाज्ज्ञानवान् जायतेऽसौ ॥२४॥
 सीमन्तेनोन्नीयमानस्य तस्य लोकैः सुप्तोत्थापितस्येव गर्भे ।
 उन्मील्येते चक्षुषी साधुयोगव्यापारैर्या दृष्टिरव्याहतेव ॥२५॥
 जातस्यैवं संस्कृतस्यास्यफेनोद्गारेण स्याद्वाचि शुद्धिः स्फुटैव ।
 घ्राणज्ञानं निष्क्रमानुक्रमेण नाम्ना शश्वद्बोधितस्यैव तस्य ॥२६॥
 शुद्धान्येवं विद्धि यश्चेन्द्रियाणि ज्ञानस्याद्धा कर्म पञ्चेन्द्रियाणाम् ।
 वाक्पाण्यन्ध्रप्राण्यधोमार्गलिङ्गानामाशुद्धिः पञ्चभिर्निष्क्रमाद्यैः ॥२७॥
 वाचैः शुध्यन्त्यस्य निष्क्रम्य चोक्ता दृष्टैवार्थान्याः पुनर्वादिताश्च ।
 अन्यैरन्नप्राशनं कारितस्य प्रायः पाणी प्रोदच तावन्नहेतोः ॥२८॥
 पद्भ्यामेवागच्छतोऽस्येह पार्श्वे चूडा यस्माद्देवतीर्थालयस्य ।
 शुद्धावस्याः श्रीपुनर्यज्ञदीक्षाचारैरारात्पायुशुद्धिं वदामि ॥२९॥
 शुध्यत्येवं वीर्यधृग्लिङ्गमस्य जातोद्वाहस्यान्यथा दूषिताभिः ।
 स्वर्गान् लोकानेति नान्योद्धृताभिर्भुक्त्वा भोगान्भावदुष्टप्रजाभिः ॥३०॥
 तान्येवोच्यन्तेऽद्य कर्मेन्द्रियाणामाविर्भावायेह कर्माणि पञ्च ।
 तत्रत्वाद्यो निष्क्रमः स्याच्चतुर्थे मास्युत्पाताद्यप्रयुक्ते दिवैव ॥३१॥
 षष्ठे चान्नप्राशनं मासि कार्यं विद्वद्वर्यैरादरादन्नभुक्त्यै ।
 शुक्लं पक्षे सत्तनौ शुद्धचन्द्रे चूडा कार्या देवतीर्थे शुभेऽह्नि ॥३२॥
 चूडोत्तारो जायते यत्र यस्य तत्र प्रायो देवयक्षाद्वज्रो ये ।
 ते तद्बालं ह्यरन्ध्रैर्विशन्ति जीवात्मानं च स्वभावन्यन्ति ॥३३॥
 तस्मादेतत्सर्वतीर्थोपवासात्पूर्वं कार्यं मुण्डनं बालकस्य ।
 स्वेष्टे तीर्थे स्वेष्टदेवान्तिके च विज्ञाप्येतत्कर्म कुर्यादिपेतम् ॥३४॥

बालस्यालङ्कृत्मुत्सार्य युक्तमात्रा चूडा त्वष्टमं कर्म कार्यम् ।
 देवानाराध्यैवमेषोऽन्तिके वो बालो बाल्ये वर्द्धितो येन केन ॥३५॥
 एवंञ्चूडोत्तरणं कारयित्वा सब्रह्माण्डं स्नापयित्वा च तीर्थं ।
 गव्यैः पश्चाद्ब्रह्मरन्ध्रान्मुखाभ्यां हस्ताभ्यामेवापर्पयेदर्थनीयम् ॥३६॥
 सूर्यालोकं कारयेदाशु शुद्धचै बुद्ध्या बुध्वैवात्मनः शुद्धिमत्र ।
 बालश्चालङ्कारितं कारयित्वा ब्रूयाद्वासः शुध्यतामर्चभिस्ते ॥३७॥
 एवं चैनः शाम्यमस्य प्रयाति बीजाद्गर्भाच्चोद्भवं भावविद्भिः ।
 कार्यङ्गर्भादष्टमे वाष्टमेऽब्दे ब्राह्मैर्यज्ञं यच्छुभं ब्राह्मणस्य ॥३८॥
 राज्ञामेवैकादशे गर्भतोऽब्दे सैकेचैवैकादशेऽब्दे विशान्तु ।
 दीक्षामात्रं चोच्यते नैव वेदारम्भो रम्भाखण्डदण्डालयेषु ॥३९॥
 सर्वावेदानभ्यसेद्ब्राह्मणो वा वेदत्रय्यामेव चाभ्यासयुक्तः ।
 वेदो वाऽधीत्यैव युक्तोऽन्यकार्ये भूयाद्विप्रो वेदविद्ब्रह्मचारी ॥४०॥
 वेदाद्यभ्यासेन चात्मप्रसिद्धिं यो वा कुर्याद्द्वादशाब्देनितान्तम् ।
 स ब्रह्मर्षिर्ब्रह्मलोकानुपैति योगाभ्यासैर्योगिनो यान्ति यत्र ॥४१॥
 यो वाऽधीते द्वादशाब्दार्धमेव वेदानेषो विप्रदेवो दिवि स्यात् ।
 वासोऽस्यैव प्रायशो लोकवृत्तौ संप्राप्तार्था भारती वर्द्धते चेत् ॥४२॥
 वेदाभ्यासं यस्त्रिवर्षं करोति स ब्रह्मज्ञो ब्राह्मणो जायतेऽत्र ।
 लोका मान्यस्यास्य पादौ स्पृशन्ति स्पृष्ट्वैवान्यत्कर्म चावेदयन्ति ॥४३॥
 नो बाधीते सोपनीतोऽपि यस्तु स ब्रह्मघ्नो ब्राह्मणो नाम तस्य ।
 यद्यप्यन्यैरर्चितं कर्म नार्घ्यैर्विद्वद्वर्ग्यैर्वारमेकं यतोऽत्र ॥४४॥
 ये चैवात्र ज्ञानवृद्धास्त एव वृद्धाः प्रोक्ता नातुराः कर्महीनाः ।
 ये वा मन्यन्ते कुलान्युत्तमानि धर्मभ्रष्टाः कौलिकास्ते भवन्ति ॥४५॥
 जानन्त्येते नैव विद्यां न धर्मं नाम्वाभावं भावितं चान्यपुंसि ।
 यद्विश्वासैर्व्याकृताः कामिनोऽत्र व्याख्यातार्थाः सन्त्यनेकेऽन्यथैव ॥४६॥
 यावज्जैते पूर्वजातान् स्मरन्ति विद्याभिज्ञानुत्तमांस्तावदेव ।
 तेषां कौल्यं कल्पितञ्चाल्पबुद्ध्या तद्देशीयैरेव नान्यप्रदेशे ॥४७॥
 विद्याभिज्ञाः कौलिकाचारयुक्ता ये वा जीवन्त्यार्षवृत्त्या त एव ।
 मान्या ये तु स्तार्तमवृत्तिं विहाय जायन्ते ते यस्य वृत्तिं चरन्ति ॥४८॥
 नैव स्त्रीणामष्ट कर्माणि मन्त्रैः कार्याण्यार्यैः स्त्रीविवाहादिरत्र ।
 मन्त्रैः प्रोक्तस्संस्कृतौ धेनुः सप्तर्द्धं यत्रैवास्तत्र मन्त्रप्रयोगः ॥४९॥

दान्तः शान्तः सद्गताचारयुक्तो विद्याभिज्ञो वेदवेदाङ्गवेत्ता ।
 गुर्वी वृत्ति चाश्रितो यस्स कार्यः प्राज्ञैर्वेदारम्भदीक्षागुस्त्वे ॥५०॥
 यद्वृत्तिः स्थादद्याद्दशाचारयुक्तो मुक्तो बद्धो यद्गुरुस्तादृगेव ।
 शिष्यः प्रायः शिक्षितस्तेन लोके शोकाविष्टोऽनिष्टभावं दधाति ॥५१॥
 मृद्वी वृत्ति शिक्षयेन्नातिगुर्वीमुर्व्या सर्वप्रीतिसम्पादनञ्च ।
 बालं नालङ्कारयेद्व्रतमालयैर्विद्याभिज्ञं चेष्टते कर्तुमिष्टम् ॥५२॥
 कार्यः शिष्यस्त्वदीदृशोऽध्यापनाय गुर्व्या वृत्तेः सर्वथा गौरवज्ञः ।
 यो वाधीत्य ब्रह्म हर्षं तनोति वाचा बुद्ध्या कर्मभिस्सेवनेषु ॥५३॥
 भास्वद्यावद्भास्वतो मण्डलं स्यात्प्रातः सन्ध्यामाचरेत्तावदेव ।
 सन्ध्याकालात्पूर्वमेव प्रबुध्य कृत्वा दन्तोद्वर्तनाशौचकर्म ॥५४॥
 विष्णुमूत्रस्योत्सर्जनं तावदेव प्रातः कृत्वोदङ्मुखीभूय भूयः ।
 रात्रौ चैतद्दक्षिणाशामुखेन सूर्यालोके सम्मुखेनोत्तरस्याः ॥५५॥
 यद्वा कुर्यात् दक्षिणीकृत्य सूर्यं विष्णुमूत्रस्योत्सर्जनं सर्वकाले ।
 मृद्भिः साद्भिः सप्तधाऽसौ विशोध्य पाणी वाणी शोधनाद्भिर्विशुध्येत् ॥५६॥
 शुद्धो भूत्वा संविभाव्य स्वभावं दन्ताशौचन्त्वाचरेन्मन्त्रपूर्वम् ।
 नौदुस्वर्यादिर्वनस्पत्यभावे वानस्पत्येनैव कर्माणि कुर्यात् ॥५७॥
 आयुर्विद्यां सद्यशोभूतिमिष्टां प्रज्ञां वर्चः सन्तति सौख्यमत्र ।
 हस्त्यश्वादीन् हव्यकव्योचितार्चिश्चैतद्वानस्पत्य धेहि प्रियन्नः ॥५८॥
 मन्त्रेणानेनैव चामन्त्रयित्वा वस्तूनीष्टानि स्वहस्ताद्धमात्रम् ।
 आदायानेनैव दन्तान्विशोध्य भूयो जिह्वां शोधयेत्तददलाभ्याम् ॥५९॥
 तत्र स्मृत्वा कल्मषान्ध्रस्वरूपे स्वास्याज्जाते द्वे तनू कल्मषस्य ।
 मध्याद्वैधीकृत्य शुद्धान् विशुद्धान्युत्क्षिप्यन्ते धर्मपादायतानि ॥६०॥
 शुद्धाद्भिश्चाचम्य पश्चाद्वृषस्य स्मृत्वा रूपं प्रातरारभ्य पूर्णम् ।
 धर्मस्यैवैतच्चतुर्भिस्समृद्धं पद्भिश्चैनं गोभिराचारयेऽत्र ॥६१॥
 गावश्चानेनोपयुक्तास्तु पञ्च कर्माण्युत्पाद्य स्वभावात्फलानि ।
 धीरक्षीराणीव गावः प्रसूय वत्सानुत्साहेन चोत्पादयन्ति ॥६२॥
 सूक्ष्माण्येषां पञ्च कर्मेन्द्रियाणां कर्माण्यावर्द्धयानुषेक्षेत्फलानि ।
 स्नेहादुदुग्धानीव वत्सान् समीहेद्धर्मक्षेत्रे यः पुनः कर्म कर्तुम् ॥६३॥
 धर्मोपोढज्ञानपञ्चेन्द्रियाणि स्वस्वज्ञानं चैकदोत्पाद्य वत्सम् ।
 संयतनन्दान् पालकस्येव दुग्धं स्वाचाराणान्धेनवोऽद्धादिशन्ति ॥६४॥

त्रिः प्राश्यापः कण्ठगा ब्रह्मदेवो ध्यात्वा ब्रह्मस्वरूपं नमस्कारपूर्वम् ।
 त्रेधोच्चार्यैव त्रिदेवात्मकं च द्वेधा विष्णुं यत्तथा क्षत्रियोपि ॥६५॥
 वैश्यो नत्वा शङ्करन्त्वेकदा यः प्राश्यैवाद्भिः कण्ठहृन्नाभिगाभिः ।
 वाचं लक्ष्मीं कालिकाञ्चात्मशक्त्यै स्मृत्वा शुध्यन्ति क्रमेण त्रयोऽमी ॥६६॥
 तास्त्वापस्तद्देवतात्मानमेत्य शक्त्या युक्ता बोधयन्त्यात्मरूपम् ।
 आत्मज्ञानं जायते यस्य यादृगेषां तेषां वाच्या तादृशी कर्मसिद्धिः ॥६७॥
 यो वानाचम्याचरेज्जातु कर्मशक्तस्येवास्यापि शाम्यं प्रयाति ।
 धर्मारण्यं रक्षितं गोकुलेभ्यो बाल्याभ्यासैश्चारितं मानसेन ॥६८॥
 पश्चाच्छुद्धाम्भःप्लुतां वारमेकं मृत्सनां गङ्गावारिणाभिप्लुताम्वा ।
 अङ्गुष्ठाग्रोत्थापितानामिकाग्रेणैवं कुर्याद्बुध्वं पुण्ड्रं ललाटे ॥६९॥
 प्रातर्विप्रः क्षत्रियस्त्वग्रमात्रेणादौ तर्जन्या समुत्थाप्य चैनाम् ।
 वैश्यो मध्याग्रेण मृण्मात्रपुण्ड्रमूर्ध्वञ्चैषां मन्त्रतो धारणानि ॥७०॥
 विष्णोः साक्षान्मूर्त्तिनैवाम्भसस्त्वं वाराहेण ब्रह्मणोद्वारितासि ।
 तन्मत्पापं मूर्त्तिके नाशयाशु ज्ञात्वाऽज्ञात्वोपाजितन्दुष्कृतं यत् ॥७१॥
 एवं मन्त्रोच्चारपूर्वं ललाटे बाह्वोः कण्ठे वक्षसि स्पर्शयित्वा ।
 मृत्सनांमात्मानं विशोध्यासनन्तु कौशं वौर्णं शोधयेन्मन्त्रपूर्वम् ॥७२॥
 सर्वे लोकास्त्वाऽऽश्रिताः पृथिवि मातः शेषेणैषा विष्णुना त्वं धृतासि ।
 धृत्वा प्रीत्यैवात्मपृष्ठेऽद्य कर्मारम्भे सा त्वं चासनं मे पुनीहि ॥७३॥
 मन्त्रानुच्चार्य त्रिधा पूरकेण नाभेरूर्ध्वञ्चारयित्वा समानम् ।
 प्राणैराशोध्योन्नयेत्कुम्भकेन यत्रोदानव्यापितं ब्रह्मलोके ॥७४॥
 तत्राशोकेनात्मनैवात्मरूपं सत्तामात्रं चिन्मयं निर्विकारम् ।
 योगाभ्यासैरभ्यसेत्प्राप्तुमिष्टं पश्चात्प्राणान् रेचयेद्वेचकेन ॥७५॥
 यच्चवेहेष्टं तत्र तान् योजयित्वा भूयो भूयो भावयेदात्मभावम् ।
 आत्मज्ञानी चानयेत्पूरकेण पश्चादेतन्नाभिहृद्ब्रह्मरन्धान् ॥७६॥
 यद्युद्यद्भादैर्भावयेद्यत्समन्तात्तत्तद्रूपैस्तद्वशं याति तस्य ।
 बाल्याभ्यासैर्बालकस्येव गाथा योगाभ्यासैः प्राणवत् प्राणिनोऽस्य ॥७७॥
 एवं योगी योजयेद्यङ्गुलीरे प्राणानायम्यात्मनोऽसौ समर्थः ।
 योऽन्यद्देहेनात्मवान् गुप्तकर्मा भोक्तुं भोगायुक्तसिद्धः स एव ॥७८॥
 एवं योवेत्यन्यदेहप्रवेशं तस्य व्याधिनैव किञ्चित्करोति ।
 हेतुत्यागं नाधिरूपस्थं यस्मात्तस्माद्विज्ञेयोऽजरो वामरो वा ॥७९॥

इति बहुविधधर्मारण्यरक्षोपदेशादव्यभिचरति न यश्चाशेषकार्योदयेषु ।
व्यवहरति स गुर्वी वृत्तिमास्थाय चास्थां जनयति निजकर्म्माम्भोधिधर्म्मणि

सेतोः ॥८०॥

इति श्रीरघुनन्दनसिद्धान्तभट्टाचार्यविरचितायां धर्मसिद्धान्तसंहितायां
सदाचारनिरूपणे द्वितीयोऽध्यायः ।

अथ तृतीयोऽध्यायः

प्रातः सन्ध्यामाचरेत् भास्करस्य दृष्ट्वा भास्वन्मण्डलं मध्यमेर्के ।
सूच्यां कृत्वा तर्पयेद्देवतर्षीन् पित्रादींश्च प्रागुदगदक्षिणास्यः ॥१॥
वास्तुद्वारि स्थापयेदग्निमस्मिन् स्वाहामन्त्रैरग्नयेसोमनाम्ने ।
अग्नीषोमाभ्यां ततो विश्वदेवेभ्यो द्वाभ्यां धन्वन्तरैस्त्वेकदेव ॥२॥
कुर्वन् स्वाहा चानुमत्यै तथैव स्वाहेत्युक्त्वा तद्वदेव प्रजानाम् ।
पत्युर्धावादि पृथिव्याः सहैव ताभ्यां स्वाहा स्विष्टिकृद्भ्यस्तथैव ॥३॥
दिक्संख्याकैरेभिरादौ विसृज्य स्वाहामन्त्रैराहुतीरग्निमध्ये ।
श्रीकामोऽत्र श्रेयसेऽथर्वगीतश्रीसूक्तेनाहुत्य कुर्यात्तथेष्टिम् ॥४॥
न श्रीहीनो जायतेऽसौ कदाचित् भैक्ष्येणाग्नीनन्वहं तर्पयित्वा ।
विप्रोऽप्राथ्यैर्वा समिद्ध्याग्निमीहे कर्माणि स्युर्व्याहतानीव चास्य ॥५॥
धर्मानुष्ठानेषु नास्ति प्रवृत्तिर्येषां यावद् भाग्यहीनास्त एव ।
धर्मक्षेत्रे तद्वदेवेह कर्मक्षेत्रे यद्वन्निस्पृहाः कर्म कर्तुम् ॥६॥
पूर्वद्वारीन्द्राय चेन्द्रानुगेभ्यो दत्त्वा दद्याद्दक्षिणस्यां यमाय ।
तत्प्राणिभ्यः पश्चिमस्यामधीशायैवं दद्याद् वरुणेभ्यो जनेभ्यः ॥७॥
सोमायाप्यौ दृग्दिगीशानुगेभ्यस्सोमप्राणिभ्योऽर्पयेदर्पणीयम् ।
प्राच्यां वास्तोरर्पयेत्तन्मरुद्भ्यो दत्त्वा दद्यादप्सु चाद्भ्यस्तथैव ॥८॥
वानस्पत्योलूखलेभ्यो वनस्पत्युत्पन्नेभ्यो मौशलेषूच्छित्तेषु ।
दत्त्वा वास्तुर्ध्वं श्रियै भद्रकाल्यै चाधस्तस्य प्रापयेदन्नमात्रम् ॥९॥
पृष्ठं दद्याद्ब्रह्मवास्तोस्पतिभ्यां वास्तोरग्रे विश्वदेवेभ्य एव ।
मध्ये दिव्ये तद्दिवाचारकेभ्यो दद्यान्नक्तञ्चारकेभ्यस्तथैव ॥१०॥
पृष्ठे भूतेभ्यस्तु सर्वेभ्य एव दक्षे सर्वेभ्यः पितृभ्यस्तथैव ।
तत्रैव श्वभ्यस्स्वयं पातितेभ्यश्चाण्डालेभ्यो धायसेभ्यः कृमिभ्यः ॥११॥

पापातैभ्यो भूतभावाय तेभ्यस्तेभ्यो दद्याद्ये सदा काक्षिणोऽत्र ।

गृह्णन्त्वेन मे बलिं तेऽतिपुष्टा भूयो भूयो भावयन्तु प्रियं नः ॥१२॥

सूर्यायाकृष्णैतिवेदोक्तमन्त्रेणाप्सु प्रीत्यैवार्पयेदक्षतानि ।

चन्द्रायेमं देवमन्त्रेण भौवायाग्नीत्युद्बुध्यस्व सोमात्मजाय ॥१३॥

देव्रेज्यायैवं बृहस्पति मन्त्रम् दैत्ये ज्यायान्नात्यरीत्यादि वाच्यम् ।

शन्नो देवीत्यार्कपूजोपचारे कयानश्चित्रा राहवे वाचनीयम् ॥१४॥

केतुं कृण्वन्केतवे मन्त्रमुक्त्वा वेदोक्तैर्मन्त्रैस्तथा पूजनञ्च ।

यः कुर्याद्विप्रस्तथा क्षत्रियो वै वैश्योऽप्यन्यो नैष वेदाधिकारी ॥१५॥

कुर्यादेवं यो नवानां ग्रहाणां पूजामप्स्वेतैर्वीक्षतैर्वोपचारैः ।

तस्यैवैते प्रीतिमुत्पादयन्ति क्रूराः केन्द्रेऽन्यत्र यातास्तथान्ये ॥१६॥

ईषेत्वोर्जेति मन्त्रेण जलमप्सु समर्पयेत् ।

ततोऽन्यज्जलमादायावाहयेद्ब्रह्मपूर्वकम् ॥१७॥

ब्रह्मादयस्सुरास्सर्वे ऋषयः शौनकादयः ।

आगच्छन्तु महाभागा ब्रह्माण्डोदरवर्तिनः ॥१८॥

ब्रह्मा विष्णुः सप्रजेशश्च रुद्रो देवा यक्षाः सिद्धगन्धर्वनागाः ।

चारा यावन्तोऽप्सरोभिस्समेतास्तृप्यन्त्वेते येऽसुराः क्रूररूपाः ॥१९॥

सर्पाः सर्वे किन्नराः किंस्वरूपाः पक्षीशोपेतास्तथा पक्षिणोऽत्र ।

विद्योपेतास्तोयदा जृम्भकाश्च तृप्यन्त्वाकाशस्थिताः खेचरा ये ॥२०॥

एवञ्चोदङ्मुखीभूय कण्ठयज्ञोपवीतवान् ।

तर्पयेद् ब्रह्मणः पुत्रान् ब्राह्मणेनैतत्सुखाप्तये ॥२० अ॥

सनत्कुमारः सनकः सनन्दनसनातनौ ।

आसुरिः कपिलः पञ्चशिखो वोढुश्च तृप्यताम् ॥२१॥

पुनः सव्येन पूर्वाभिमुखोऽञ्जलिभिरुर्ध्वगैः ।

महर्षीं स्तर्पयेत्तद्वन्महर्लोकिसुखाप्तये ॥२२॥

मरीचिरथ्यङ्गिरसौ पुलस्त्यः पुलहः क्रतुः ।

भृगुः प्रचेता ब्रह्मर्षिनारदस्तृप्यतामथ ॥२३॥

कश्यपोऽत्रिभरद्वाजो विश्वामित्रोऽथ गौतमः ।

यमदग्निर्वसिष्ठस्तृप्यन्तां सप्तर्षयोऽमलाः ॥२४॥

ततोऽपसव्येन पुनर्दक्षतीर्थमुपस्थिताः ।

क्षिणाभिमुखेनैव तर्पन्ते पितरो मया ॥२५॥

अग्निष्वात्तास्तथा सौम्या हविष्मन्तोऽथ सोमपाः ।
 कव्यवाडनलो वर्हिषदश्चैव प्रचेतसः ॥२६॥
 धर्मराजो यमो मृत्युरन्तकः काल एव च ।
 वैवस्वतः सर्वभूतक्षय औदुम्बरस्तथा ॥२७॥
 परमेष्ठी दधननीलौ तथा चित्रवृकोदरौ ।
 तृप्ताश्चाशीः प्रयच्छन्तु चित्रगुप्तस्तथैव तु ॥२८॥
 आयन्तु पितरो मेऽथ गृह्णन्वेतान् जलाञ्जलीन् ।
 पिता पितामहश्चैव तथैव प्रपितामहः ॥२९॥
 वसुरुद्रादित्यरूपा माता पैतामही तथा ।
 वृद्धा पैतामही चाथ तृप्यन्तां गोत्रसङ्गताः ॥३०॥
 पितामहसपत्नीको वसुरूपस्तथापरः ।
 रुद्ररूपः प्रमातामहो वृद्धो जननी पिता ॥३१॥
 सपत्नीकास्तु ते सर्वे मातृवंशे मृताश्च ये ।
 पितृवंशे मृता ये च ते तृप्यन्तु समाहिताः ॥३२॥
 येऽबान्धवा बान्धवा वा येऽन्यजन्मनि बान्धवाः ।
 भूमौ दत्तेन तृप्यन्तु तृप्ता यान्तु परांगतिम् ॥३३॥
 वैयाघ्रपदगोत्राय सांकृतप्रवराय च ।
 अपुत्राय ददाम्येतज्जलं भीष्माय वर्म्मणे ॥३४॥
 एवं नित्यश्राद्धमन्नोदकाभ्यां कृत्वा भिक्षोपाजितञ्चान्नमन्यत् ।
 कुर्याद्विद्याध्यापकस्योपदेशे भुञ्जीताज्ञामाकलय्यावशिष्टम् ॥३५॥
 विप्रो भिक्षामाचरेद्ब्राह्मणेषु विप्रान्प्रार्थ्य क्षत्रियेष्वानतेषु ।
 वैश्येषूच्चार्य प्रियां वाचमुच्चैरादौ मध्ये चावसाने यथोक्ताम् ॥३६॥
 नित्यश्राद्धैर्नित्यशश्श्रद्धयैव देवान् ब्रह्मर्षीन् पितृनर्चयेद्यः ।
 धन्यो धान्यैः पूरितः सोऽनृणः स्यात्पुत्रैः पौत्रैस्सेवितश्चेह लोके ॥३७॥
 नित्यब्रह्मध्यानविध्वस्तपापो भूत्वा भूयो भौतिकेऽस्मिन् शरीरे ।
 अग्नीनावाह्याक्षतैस्सर्पिषाभिव्यक्तैर्हुत्वा नैष्ठिकेष्ट्यार्चयेत्तान् ॥३८॥
 व्याहृत्योक्तान्भूर्भुवस्स्वर्यथोक्तान् स्वाहोपेतान्गुणे स्वाहयैव ।
 अग्नीषोमाभ्यां तथैवानुपूर्व्या मन्त्रैः स्वास्येऽपूर्वमन्नं नियुञ्जीत् ॥३९॥
 यज्ञैरिन्द्राद्या यथा तोषिता ये यदद्यद्भावैस्ते तथोत्तारयन्ति ।
 भूमौ मेधान्भूरि वृष्ट्यापि भूयो भूयो भास्वन्मण्डलं दर्शयन्ति ॥४०॥

यज्ञाधीना देवता देवताभिर्दृष्टो लोकः सत्कृपादृष्टिबन्धः ।
 त्रिःशोकोऽसौ जायते ते च यज्ञा विप्राधीनाः सर्वमूलं त एव ॥४१॥
 तस्माद्विप्राः पूजनीयाः समन्तादादावन्ते यज्ञकर्मण्युपात्ते ।
 साक्षाद्विष्णोरास्थमाश्वार्थ्यं नित्यं कर्मोपेतः शाश्वतीं सिद्धिमिति ॥४२॥
 श्रीमद्विष्णोर्विश्वरूपात्मकस्य स्वास्यं विप्राः क्षत्रिया बाहवोऽस्य ।
 ऊरू वैश्याः पादयोरस्य शूद्रा जातास्तत्तत्कर्मभिर्धर्मभूमौ ॥४३॥
 विष्णुविप्रास्थेन यद्यद्भुनक्ति विश्वं सर्वात्मैव पुष्पात्यनेन ।
 विश्वात्माचेत्तोषितो येन तेन किन्तत्कार्यं ब्रह्मयज्ञाद्विशिष्टम् ॥४४॥
 आपः प्राश्य प्राङ्मुखः प्रत्यगात्मा पद्भ्यां भूमिं संस्पृशन्नार्द्रपादः ।
 पीठे काष्ठस्यैव पूर्णान्तराले स्थित्वा भुञ्जीतान्नमानन्दहेतु ॥४५॥
 स्थित्वा भूमौ नैव भुञ्जीदशेषम्भुक्त्वा श्वभ्यस्सेवकेभ्योऽपि शेषम् ।
 दद्यान्नाद्यादन्तराह्णोद्विवारं नालङ्कारैरावृतोऽनावृतोऽपि ॥४६॥
 भुक्त्वा ब्राह्मणैव तीर्थेन चाद्भिः शुद्धो नान्यैर्जायते तीर्थमुख्यैः ।
 देवाददेव शुद्धिमाप्नोति पैत्रे पैत्रात्तीर्थादार्षवृत्त्या तथार्षे ॥४७॥
 पाण्योरग्रे देवतीर्थेन देवास्तुष्टास्तेभ्यश्चांजलिस्तूद्व (?) देशे ।
 पाण्योर्मध्यादार्षतीर्थोदकेन ब्रह्मर्षीणां तुष्टिरावेदनीया ॥४८॥
 तज्जैन्यङ्गुष्ठद्वयोर्मध्यदेशात् पैत्रात्तीर्थात्तुष्टिरुक्ता पितृणाम् ॥
 लोके पुष्पात्यन्तरात्मा नितान्तं शुद्धो दक्षब्रह्मतीर्थोदकेन ॥४९॥
 सर्वे देवा येऽमृतं पाणिमूले कृत्वा तीर्थे ब्रह्मणो व्यापकस्य ।
 पीत्वैवैते निर्जरास्तेऽमराश्च व्याप्तञ्चैतद्ब्रह्मतीर्थप्रभावात् ॥५०॥
 शुद्धैर्द्भिः पाणिशुद्धिं विधाय ध्यात्वा विष्णुं कर्णनाशाक्षिशुद्धिम् ।
 कुर्यात्तिनैवाशु पश्चाद्विशोध्यौ पादावद्भिर्गोप्रदानप्रभावैः ॥५१॥
 एवं ब्रह्माध्येति यो द्वादशाब्दं सेवां गुर्वोमाचरंश्चित्तवृत्त्या ।
 निर्मुक्तोऽसौ देहजैरात्मककर्मयोगैर्युक्तो जायते ब्रह्मचारी ॥५२॥
 नैवोच्छिष्टं कस्यचिन्नापि मांसं क्षौद्रं नाद्याद्गुप्तसम्भाषणञ्च ।
 कुर्यान्न स्त्रीप्रेक्षणं प्राणिहिंसामश्लीलं वा वर्जयेद्विग्रहादि ॥५३॥
 एवं यो वाऽविष्णुतब्रह्मचर्य्यो लक्षण्यां स्वभ्रातृयुक्तामनन्याम् ।
 कान्तां कन्यामुद्वहेत्स व्रतीव सर्वान् लोकानुत्तमानेति ज्ञान्ते ॥५४॥
 न स्यादेकार्षां सगोत्रा च या स्त्री मातुर्यस्या नैव सावर्ण्यमस्ति ।
 तौ सृष्टङ्गी सुप्रकाशी सवर्णा श्रेयोरूपासुद्हन्तोऽपि मुक्ताः ॥५५॥

कामाल्लोभान्मोहिता येऽन्यवर्णजातामुद्वाह्य स्वयं नीचभावाः ।
 आत्मानश्चोत्पादयन्ति प्रकामं ये ते पापा यान्त्यघस्तामसानाम् ॥५६॥
 तस्माद्विधैर्विप्रवंशोद्भवासु ब्राह्मोद्वाहैर्दारकर्मोचितासु ।
 पित्राद्यैराहूय दत्ता सुतासु कार्य्या बीजोप्तिः स्ववंशोद्भवाय ॥५७॥
 कर्मक्षेत्रं यादृशं यादृशी च बीजोप्तिः स्यात्तादृशी कर्मसिद्धिः ।
 लोके दृष्टा यादृशी यस्य जाया वैश्या शूद्रा तादृशी तत्प्रसूतिः ॥५८॥
 तस्माद्विप्रः क्षत्रियां नापि वैश्यां शूद्रां कुर्यान्नैव जायां कदाचित् ।
 आप्तैरुक्तं पूर्वजैर्यत्तु तिस्रो विप्रस्येति ब्राह्मणीनामभावे ॥५९॥
 पूर्वं ये ब्रह्मर्षयस्ते समेत्य प्रायस्तेषु तु भग्नोद्यमास्ते ।
 जायाकामा मायिनो मर्त्यलोके यस्यां कस्यां बीजमुद्वापयन्ति ॥६०॥
 ब्रह्मर्षीणां नैव जायादियोगो जायाभावेनैव कन्याप्रचारः ।
 वन्यानामेषां यदा कन्यकेच्छा कार्योऽन्याभिस्तैरवश्यं विवाहः ॥६१॥
 मन्तव्यास्ते मानिता माननीयाः किन्तु प्रायो मन्मतं नैतदस्ति ।
 यद्यादृश्यां जायते स्वान्तरात्मा लोके वाच्या तादृशी जातिरस्य ॥६२॥
 विप्रैर्विप्रा क्षत्रियैः क्षत्रियैव वैश्यैर्वैश्या शूद्रजैः शूद्रजैव ।
 कार्य्या भार्य्या यार्य्यमार्गप्रवृत्ता नास्याः सङ्गे दूषणनिश्चयसन्त्याः ॥६३॥
 यासां निश्वासापघातेन ये तु भ्रान्ता वैजात्यं न चासां स्मरन्ति ।
 निष्पीड्योरू यौवनाम्भोधिपारं गन्तुं तेऽन्धा येऽधरास्यं पिबन्ति ॥६४॥
 यादृशोऽस्ति वृषलीमुखफेनोद्गारनिःश्वसनवासितवायौ ।
 क्षत्रियासु च तथाऽवितथैव भ्रान्तिभाजि भवतीह विवेकः ॥६५॥
 वैश्यजासु विशता निजवीर्य्येणोपहासि मुखनिश्चयसितेन ।
 वासितासु मुखसंमुखदेशे किं निवारयसि मामुपयातम् ॥६६॥
 हीना जातिर्यादृशी जायतेऽस्या भोक्तुर्वाच्या तादृशी हीनजातिः ।
 तस्माद्वीनामुद्बहन्तुं त्यजन्ति हव्यं कव्यं देवपित्रादयोऽस्य ॥६७॥
 ब्राह्मो देवस्त्रीविवाहस्तथार्थः प्राजापत्यश्चासुरोऽपि क्रमेण ।
 पेञ्चानामाद्यास्त्रयो ये प्रशस्ताः कार्य्याश्चाय्यैर्ब्राह्मणैस्ते विशेषात् ॥६८॥
 गान्धर्वो वा राक्षसः क्षत्रियस्य पैशाचोऽष्टावैव कन्याविकाहाः ।
 तेषां पैशाचास्तथैवासुरश्च कार्य्यो नाय्यैर्धर्मविदभिः कदापि ॥६९॥
 श्रुतशीलवते वराम्बराय स्वयमाहूय च दीयते यदि ।
 श्रुतपूज्य गृहागताय तैर्विवुधैर्ब्राह्मविधिर्विधीयते ॥७०॥

कृत्यज्ञविधिक्रियत्वजे धृतवेदोदितकर्मकारिणे ।
 स च देवविधिर्बुधैर्यदि समलंकृत्य विवाह्य दीयते ॥७१॥
 गोद्वयं तदुभयं वरतोऽस्या दानमाविदधताऽऽददात् ।
 दीयते तदुभयं यदि तस्मै तावदार्षविधिरेष वराय ॥७२॥
 सहैव चैतौ चरतां स्वधर्ममित्थं स्ववाग्विश्वसितावुपास्य ।
 कन्याप्रदानं विधिवत्प्रजापतेर्वैवाहिकोऽयं विधिरुच्यते बुधैः ॥७३॥
 द्रव्यमादाय दत्ता च या कन्यका ज्ञातिभिर्ज्ञानशून्यैरनालङ्कृता ।
 सप्तपूर्वाः परे दातुरस्या नरा यान्त्यधो नारकीमासुरैः कर्मभिः ॥७४॥
 इच्छयाऽन्योन्यसंयोगसम्बद्धया शुद्धया यो वरो गृह्यते कन्यया ।
 कामतो वामभागीकृता स स्वयं यः प्रतिज्ञाय गान्धर्वरीत्यादृतः ॥७५॥
 राजभिर्वीरताशालिभिर्या बलाद्वीरभावान् विनिर्जित्य कन्या हता ।
 सा प्रशस्ता महीपालका नामतो राक्षसोऽयं विवाहो बुधैः कीर्तितः ॥७६॥
 अद्भिः प्रोक्तं ब्राह्मणानां विशेषात्कन्यादानं चान्यजातेर्यथेष्टम् ।
 विप्रोढाजो मोचयत्येनसोऽसौ पूर्वान् वंश्यानुत्तरानात्मनश्च ॥७७॥
 ब्राह्मादित्रिष्वेव शुद्धा प्रसूतिर्यस्यां पुत्रा ब्रह्मवर्चस्विनस्ते ।
 सत्त्वोपेता रूपवन्तोऽतिधन्या मान्या धर्मिष्ठाश्शतंजीविनः स्युः ॥७८॥
 पञ्चस्वन्यस्त्रीविवाहेषु चैते पुत्राः प्रादुर्भूय मिथ्याभियोगैः ।
 निन्द्यान्धर्मिणाचरन्तो भवन्ति ब्रह्मज्ञानाद्ब्रह्मधर्मद्विषस्ते ॥७९॥
 जात्योत्कृष्टां माननीयां महद्भिः शूद्रा वैश्याः क्षत्रिया वोद्वहन्ति ।
 कामान्धा ये तेऽन्धतामिच्छदेशं गत्वा कुम्भीपाकवासा भवन्ति ॥८०॥
 तस्माज्जात्योत्कृष्टरूपां विहाय न्यूनां चोक्तोऽयं सवर्णासु तासु ।
 वीर्यप्रक्षेपो यतो यासु भूयो जायन्ते ते वीर्यवन्तः सुपुत्राः ॥८१॥
 कामान्मोहाद्ये परस्त्रीषु लोभाद्वेतो वीर्यं स्वात्मनो ये क्षरन्ति ।
 पापात्मानस्ते नितान्तं पतन्ति कुम्भीपाकादौ पतङ्गा इवाग्नौ ॥८२॥
 यस्मदास्त्वैवान्तरात्मा स्ववीर्यव्याजैः प्रादुर्भवेति स्वभावात् ।
 तस्मात्पित्रा भ्रातृवर्गेश्च पत्या मान्याः पूज्या देवरैर्भूषणीयाः ॥८३॥
 पूज्यन्ते ता यत्र नाय्योर्विशेषा हृष्टास्तुष्टा धर्ममार्गं चरन्ति ।
 सर्वे देवास्तुष्टिमायान्ति तत्र पुत्रैः पौत्रैर्येऽपि पित्रादयोऽत्र ॥८४॥
 शोचन्त्येतां जामयो यत्र वंशे दुःखार्तास्ता यं शपन्तीहमानाः ।
 शोचन्तसर्वं नश्यति प्रथितोऽत्र कृत्या युक्तं यद्यथास्तीह लोके ॥८५॥

दम्पत्योर्यत्रान्तरं देहमात्रं तत्रैवास्त्यव्याहृतं भव्यमासाम् ।
 वाचो ये चादृत्य कुर्वन्ति कर्म सिद्धिस्तेषां जायते सर्वदेव ॥८६॥
 भ्रात्रोर्भेदो यत्र पित्रोर्न पूजा दम्पत्योर्वा यत्र न प्रीतिलक्ष्मीः ।
 बध्वो दुःखाब्धौ निमज्जन्ति यत्र तत्रालक्ष्मीर्जायतेऽवश्यमेव ॥८७॥

एतन्नित्यं मनसि वचसैवोच्चरन्तः स्मरन्तु

ये स्वाध्यायाध्ययनविधिनैवेश्वरं भावयन्तु ।

ये वा ब्रह्माध्ययननिरता ब्रह्मचारित्वमेत्य

तैरध्येयं विधिवदधिकश्रद्धया बद्धचित्तैः ॥८८॥

इति श्रीरघुनन्दनसिद्धान्तभट्टाचार्यविरचितायां धर्मसिद्धान्तसंहितायां

ब्रह्मचारिव्रतनिरूपणे तृतीयोऽध्यायः ।

अथ चतुर्थोऽध्यायः

अथाधीतवेदैर्गृहस्थैर्विधेया यथा यादृशी धर्मसंस्था स्थविष्ठैः ।
 तथैवोच्यतेऽध्यापनादिक्रमेण प्रशस्ता स्वयं धर्ममार्गप्रवृत्तिः ॥१॥
 न तेषां कदाचिद्भवेद्भीतिरत्र श्रमो धर्मशास्त्रे भवाब्धौ स्थितानाम् ।
 गृहस्थाश्रमाणां यथायोगमस्मिन्नतः स्थापिता यावती कर्मभूमिः ॥२॥
 न विन्ध्याचलादक्षिणस्यां स्थितेभ्यो हिमाद्रेस्तथैवोत्तरस्यां स्थितेभ्यः ।
 न शिक्षेत वैनाशिकी पश्चिमेभ्यः स्वधर्मं बहिर्ब्रह्मतीर्थाश्रमेभ्यः ॥३॥
 न वाराणसीपूर्वतोऽस्ति स्वधर्मो विधर्मास्ततो ये स्थितास्तत्र देशे ।
 यतो मध्यदेशाद्बहिर्लक्षदेशस्स धार्यस्ततो मध्यदेशागतेभ्यः ॥४॥
 पुनर्नैमिषारण्यदेशोद्भवैस्तैः स्वयं धारिता कोटिशो धर्मवृत्तिः ।
 यतः सप्तभिर्ब्रह्ममुख्यैर्विशेषादतः सा परा नैमिषारण्यदेशे ॥५॥
 अयाज्यान् ये याजयन्ति स्वभावान्न नास्तिक्यवागस्ति येषां नराणां ।
 न येषां विवाहक्रिया दूषिता नो कुलं मन्त्रहीनं सदाचारिणस्तु ॥६॥
 कुलानि स्वयं मन्त्रसिद्धानि तेषामनल्पोदयान्यल्पवित्तान्यपीह ।
 न येषां पुनर्यज्ञदीक्षायुतानां सदाचारवेदक्रियाहानिरस्ति ॥७॥
 स कुर्वीत वैवाहिकेऽनौ विशेषादशेषं यथायोजितं गृह्यकर्म ।
 पुनः ऋचयज्ञान् विधाय स्वपङ्क्तिं तथान्वाहिकीं कारयेद्यो गृहस्थः ॥८॥

गृहस्थाश्रमे पञ्चसूना नराणां न या वाहयन्तो विमुक्ता भवन्ति ।
 यथोपस्करः पेषणी कण्डनी चोदकुम्भोऽथ चुल्ही तु संहारिणी ॥९॥
 तासां निष्कृत्यर्थमुक्ताः क्रमेण यज्ञाः पञ्चैते महायज्ञसंज्ञाः ।
 कृत्वा ब्रह्मर्षिप्रियुक्तानिर्हृत्तान्निर्मुक्तः स्यात्प्रत्यहो दूषणेन ॥१०॥
 यः स्वाध्यायो ब्रह्मयज्ञः स उक्तः पैत्रो यज्ञस्तर्पणं श्रद्धयैव ।
 होमो देवो भौतिको वैश्वदेवो यज्ञो नृणामागतातिथ्यकर्म ॥११॥
 ये वा देवान्नातिथीन्नेव भृत्यान् पित्रादीन् वा नात्मनस्तोषयन्ति ।
 ते वै मूढा निःश्वसन्तो नितान्तं भस्त्रैर्वैतेऽशक्तियुक्ता वृथैव ॥१२॥
 पञ्चभ्यश्चैभ्यो विशिष्टोऽथ शिष्टैर्यज्ञो गार्गत्र्या जपोऽङ्गीकृतोऽसौ ।
 येनैवैते वद्धिताश्चेत्समर्थास्तेजोरूपास्तारयन्तो भवाब्धिम् ॥१३॥
 अग्नौ प्रास्ता साहुतिस्सूर्यलोकं गत्वा सूर्याद् वृष्टिमुत्पादयन्ति ।
 वृष्टेरन्नं प्राणिनो धारयन्ति प्राणान्नैः प्रायशो रञ्जिता ये ॥१४॥
 यस्मिन्वेदाः सागमाः सेतिहासाः ध्यायन्ते स्वाध्याययुक्तैरजस्रम् ।
 यत्रायान्त्यन्ये त्रयो धर्मनिष्ठाः श्रेष्ठास्तस्माद्ये गृहस्थाश्रमस्थाः ॥१५॥
 सोऽयं धार्यो यत्नतस्तैरमुष्मिन् स्वर्गान् भोगानैहिकान्प्राप्नुवद्भिः ।
 कामक्रोधादीन् विनिजित्य शत्रून् धर्मारण्ये ये स्वगाश्चारयन्ति ॥१६॥
 कामैः क्रोधैर्मोहमात्सर्यलोभैर्गादो येषां वामदैः षट् सप्रत्नैः ।
 धर्मारण्यात्ताडिता निःसरन्ति व्यर्था तेषां सत्क्रियैवागमोक्ता ॥१७॥
 श्राद्धं कुर्यात्प्रत्यहं श्रद्धयैवमन्त्रैर्वन्यैर्वा फलैर्वोदकेन ।
 दुग्धैर्मुपन्नैर्विशेषात्तिलैर्वा पित्रादीनां प्रीतिमुत्पादयेद्यः ॥१८॥
 श्राद्धोद्देशेनैकमप्याशयेद्वा विप्रौ विप्रान् यज्ञसम्पूर्यथे च ।
 नैवोद्देशाद्वैश्वदेवस्य विप्राः प्रायो भोज्या ये सदाभ्यर्चनीयाः ॥१९॥
 भिक्षां दत्त्वा भिक्षवे ब्रह्मवेत्रे कृत्वातिथ्यं चातिथेः पुण्यमेति ।
 तत्तत्सर्वं श्रीगुरुयः सहस्रैर्दत्तैर्यद्यद्दुर्लभञ्चेह लोके ॥२०॥
 हव्यं कर्ण्यं वेदविद्यासमृद्धपात्रे दत्तं नव्यभव्योदयाय ।
 भस्मीभूतेष्वेष्वमन्त्रेषु तेषु मोहान्नश्यत्येव यद्दत्तमात्रम् ॥२१॥
 आतिथ्येनैवागती यस्तु विप्रः सम्पूज्योऽसावासनेनोदकेन ।
 देयञ्चात्र शक्तिर्तोऽस्मै विशेषादुच्चेष्टुच्चं मध्यमं मध्यमेषु ॥२२॥
 जीवन्तो ये कृच्छ्रचान्द्रायणाभ्यामग्नीनाराध्योन्नताश्चाग्निहोत्रैः ।
 तेषां विप्राः पुण्यमावेदयन्ति येषां द्वाय्येतेऽर्चिता नो वसन्ति ॥२३॥

सद्भिर्दातुं निर्बलैर्भूमिरेवमेषा शुद्धा वोदकं वागथापि ।
 सत्त्वं तेषां हन्यते चान्यथा हि क्लिश्यन्तो यद्द्वारि विप्रा वसन्ति ॥२४॥
 आतिथ्येनैवागतं त्वेकरात्रं विप्रं दृष्ट्वाभ्यर्च्य संवासयेच्च ।
 नैकग्राभीणं तथैवार्थगत्या प्राप्तं विद्यादागतं धीगतेभ्यः ॥२५॥
 ये चातिथ्यान्नैर्गृहस्थाः सदैव जीवन्त्येते पापिनः कर्महीनाः ।
 प्रेत्यप्रायास्ते ब्रजन्त्यन्नदातुः पशवादीनां वाहकानाञ्च योनौ ॥२६॥
 दैवात्प्राप्तः सायमस्याश्रमेऽसौ कालेऽकाले चेदनश्नन् वसेत् यः ।
 शापात्तस्यै वाशु नश्यन्त्यशेषां वंश्या यस्य प्रायशो धर्मवृद्धाः ॥२७॥
 विप्रः स्वीये जातिगोत्रे निर्वेद्य भुङ्क्ते चातिथ्यान्नमेते प्रशस्ते ।
 हीयेतैते न्यूनजातिप्रसङ्गाद्वान्ताशी स प्रोच्यते ज्ञानवृद्धैः ॥२८॥
 राजन्यो वा वैश्यजः शूद्रजो वा मित्राणि स्युर्जातियो वा गुरुश्च ।
 नैते चातिथ्येन योज्या यथावत्कार्या त्वेषां सत्क्रियैवागतानाम् ॥२९॥
 गुर्व्या वृत्त्या प्राग्गुरुर्भोजनीयश्चातिथ्यं स्यात्तद्वेवातिथीनाम् ।
 पश्चाद्राजन्यं कृतातिथ्यदेशमाहूयनं भोजयेद्भूतबुद्ध्या ॥३०॥
 भृत्यैस्सार्द्धं वैश्यशूद्रौ नियोज्यौ भोज्ये सायं योजयश्चानुकम्पाम् ।
 मित्रादीन् वंश्याश्च शक्त्या समेतान्भार्यायुक्तो भोजयेदात्मनैव ॥३१॥
 वृद्धा वासिन्यः कुमारास्तथान्ये गर्भिण्याद्या रोगिणो भागिनेयाः ।
 दौहित्राद्या यास्तु पाकोपयोगे ताः सम्भोज्याश्चातिथिभ्योऽत्र पूर्वम् ॥३२॥
 ये वा नैतान्भोजयन्त्यत्र पूर्वं तेषामन्नं दूषितं दूषणाय ।
 पूर्वये वाश्नन्त्यपूर्वं गृहस्थान् हित्वा तेषां जग्धिरुक्ता श्वगृद्धैः ॥३३॥
 देवर्षीन्भ्यर्च्य पित्रादिवर्गान् श्राद्धैः सन्तर्प्य स्वयं चातिथिभ्यः ।
 दत्त्वेवान्नं यच्च यज्ञावशिष्टं शिष्टैर्ग्राह्यं येऽवशिष्टाश्निनस्तैः ॥३४॥
 राजानं वा श्रोतियं स्वान् गुरुंश्च स्नातानृत्विक् याजिता वागतांस्तान् ।
 वर्षान्ते वा यज्ञकर्मण्युपेयान् मध्वक्तेनोपस्करेणार्हणीयान् ॥३५॥
 सायं प्रातः शुद्धमन्नं स्वपत्न्या गोप्रासार्थं यच्च निष्काशनीयम् ।
 दद्र्यात् कन्यायै गवे न्यासिने च विश्वेदेवास्तेन तुष्टा भवन्ति ॥३६॥
 यज्ञं कृत्वा पैतृकं तर्पणाख्यं श्राद्धं कुर्याच्छ्रद्धया मासि मासि ।
 यज्ञं चामायां मुच्यते तर्पणोर्ध्वमन्वाहार्यं तं बुधा बोधयन्ति ॥३७॥
 मांसैः कार्योऽयन्तु मांसाशिभिस्तैर्हिंसा कार्या नैव तत्रास्ति दोषः ।
 हिंसा ये स्युः प्राणिनस्ते प्रयान्ति स्वर्गं पिण्डीकृत्य मर्त्यैः प्रयुक्ताः ॥३८॥

ब्रह्मर्षीणां ये कुले वा मुनीनां जाता माध्वी गोपयःपायसेन ।
 सध्वार्धक्येनैव चैतैरमायामन्वाहार्यं श्रद्धया कर्म कार्यम् ॥३९॥
 अत्रैतैर्ये भोजनीयाश्च वर्ज्या यावन्तो वा यादृशा यत्प्रकारैः ।
 तावन्तस्ते तादृशास्तत्प्रकारैरत्रैवोच्यन्ते तथान्यासपूर्वम् ॥४०॥
 दैवे द्वावेव त्रयः पैतृके वा सर्वत्रैको वेदविद्याविशुद्धः ।
 श्रद्धायुक्तैर्भोजनीयस्समृद्धैर्विप्राः सत्कृत्यैव सम्भोजनीयाः ॥४१॥
 एषा वाच्यान्वाहिकी प्रेतकृत्यामावास्यायां मासि मासि प्रयुक्ता ।
 कुर्वन्तस्ताम्प्राप्तुवन्तीष्टसिद्धिं याभिप्रेता लौकिकी पुत्रपौत्रैः ॥४२॥
 श्रौताचारैरादृतान् हव्यकव्यैर्ज्ञानोपेतांस्तोषयेच्छ्रद्धयैव ।
 श्राद्धे मन्त्रज्ञा विशेषेण कार्य्या दैवे शैवा वैष्णवा ज्ञाननिष्ठाः ॥४३॥
 एको विप्रो ज्ञाननिष्ठोऽपि वेदाङ्गैर्वा युक्तो भोजितः श्राद्धदेशे ।
 नैतत्साम्यं ज्ञानहीनाः प्रयान्ति नामन्त्रज्ञाः कोटिशो भोजनीयाः ॥४४॥
 दूरादेवैतान् परीक्ष्य प्रसङ्गाच्छ्राद्धे चामन्त्र्यैव ये भोजयन्ति ।
 भावज्ञैर्देवर्षयः सिद्धमुल्या मुख्ये तीर्थे भावतो भोजितास्तैः ॥४५॥
 यस्य श्राद्धे यावतो मन्त्रहीना ग्रासान् हव्योद्भावितान् कव्ययुक्तान् ।
 प्राशनन्त्येनं प्रेतभावङ्गतन्ते तप्तग्रासान् शूलिनो ग्रासयन्ति ॥४६॥
 श्राद्धे श्रौताचारयुक्तात्मजैर्भ्यो विद्याहीनैर्भ्योऽपि न ज्ञाननिष्ठाः ।
 श्रेष्ठाः श्रौताचारसंपत्तिहीना येषां पित्राद्यास्त्वमन्त्रा भ्रमन्ति ॥४७॥
 मैत्र्या युक्ताञ्छत्रुपक्षाश्रितांश्च श्रुत्योपेतान्नाचर्चयेच्छ्राद्धदेशे ।
 यो वाज्ञानाद्भोजयेत्तांश्च तस्य भ्रष्टः श्राद्धो वैपरीत्यं प्रयाति ॥४८॥
 पैशाची सा दक्षिणा या स्वगोत्रे दत्ता श्रौतज्ञानयुक्तेऽप्ययुक्ते ।
 दातुं दातुर्निष्फला गौरिवास्य प्रायो लोके निष्फलैव प्रदिष्टा ॥४९॥
 दौहित्रं वा विटर्पितं वा गुरुं वा स्वस्त्रियं वा भाममेतान्समेतान् ।
 श्राद्धे तेषां श्रोत्रियाणामभावे यज्ञे पूज्यानब्रवीद्भार्गवोऽपि ॥५०॥
 दैवे प्राप्ते कर्मणि प्रायशोऽत्र प्राप्ता विप्रा ये यथाभ्यर्चनीयाः ।
 श्राद्धादावैते परीक्ष्याः क्रमेण विद्वद्वर्ज्यस्ते तथा वर्जनीयाः ॥५१॥
 स्तेनाः क्लीवाः पातिताः कर्मभिर्ये नास्तिक्येनैवोपदिष्टाः खलाश्च ।
 येऽमन्त्रज्ञाः कृतवार्धाययुक्ता नैतान् श्राद्धे भोजयेद्याजकांश्च ॥५२॥
 यैर्निर्वद्धा मूर्द्धजास्तज्जटाभी रोगार्ता ये दुर्बलाः पापिनश्च ।
 दैवान्प्रेष्यान्दैवलार्षर्षीर्वाश्च नैतान् श्राद्धे भोजयेदप्रशस्तान् ॥५३॥

ये वा पण्येनैव जीवन्ति विप्रा मांसं विक्रीयोपजीवन्ति वात्र ।
 शिल्पज्ञानेनोपजीवन्ति ये वा गुर्व्या वृत्त्या बाधकास्तेऽत्र वर्ज्याः ॥५४॥
 यक्ष्मापस्मारोपयुक्ता जना ये ये वा हिंसार्थं पशून् पालयन्ति ।
 काणान्धौ वाऽनग्नयो वेतुवित्ति ब्रह्मद्वेष्टारो न तैर् भोजनीयाः ॥५५॥
 मित्रद्वेष्टारस्तथा द्यूतवृत्तापुत्राचार्यो गण्डमाली तथैव ।
 शिवत्रयुन्मत्तो वेदनिन्दाविशिष्टश्शिष्टैरेते भोजनीया न पैत्रे ॥५६॥
 एतानन्यान् गर्हिताचारवृत्तीन् ज्ञात्वापांक्तेयान् द्विजातीन् विहाय ।
 विप्रो विद्वान् भोजयेद्व्यकव्ये विद्योपेतान्नव्यभव्योदयांश्च ॥५७॥
 दारानग्नीनग्रजे संस्थितेऽपि वेत्ता गृह्णात्येष वित्तिस्तु पूर्वः ।
 वेत्ता वित्तिर्या प्रणीतेहवेत्रा दाता चास्या याचको यान्ति तेऽधः ॥५८॥
 भ्रातुर्भार्या यः प्रमीतस्य कामादन्येधर्मणोपयुक्तामुपैति ।
 पूर्वायाः पत्ये दिधिष्वोपयुक्तायास्मै हव्यं न प्रयच्छन्त्वभिज्ञाः ॥५९॥
 यो वा कुण्डो गोलको जारजातः श्राद्धे विद्वान्नैमप्याशयेच्च ।
 कुण्डो जीवद्भर्तृकाजः स पाप्मा विज्ञेयोऽसौ गोलकस्तन्मृताजः ॥६०॥
 एतेऽपाङ्कतया यावतः पङ्कितयातान् पाङ्कतयान्भुञ्जानानुपश्यन्त्युपेतान् ।
 तावद्भ्यः श्रद्धादचुपेतस्य तस्य दातुर्दानं निष्फलं कारयन्ति ॥६१॥
 कर्णश्चान्धः षष्ठ्यशीत्योः क्रमेण स्थित्वाशिवत्री पङ्कितमध्ये शतस्य ।
 दृष्ट्वा पापार्तः सहस्रस्य हन्ति दातुः पुण्यं स्थापितः पङ्कितमध्ये ॥६३॥
 ये वा स्पृष्टा याजकैः शूद्रजानाम् यज्ञारम्भे पैतृके वा विशेषात् ।
 वाग्भ्रष्टा ये वेङ्गितामूकवृत्त्या दातुर्दानं निष्फलं याति तेभ्यः ॥६३॥
 ये वा विप्रा याजकेभ्योऽन्त्यजानां दानं गृह्णन्ति स्वयं पातितास्ते ।
 क्षिप्रं नाशं यान्ति दावानलेन क्षूद्रीभूता ये तृणानीव लोके ॥६४॥
 मेदोऽसृङ्मांसास्थिमज्जाद्यशेषम् विष्णूत्राद्येतेष्वपाङ्कतयेष्वशुद्धम् ।
 तेषां पित्राद्याः सदाश्नन्त्यभद्रं श्राद्धेऽपाङ्कत्यान् ये जना भोजयन्ति ॥६५॥
 पङ्कितः शुद्धा जायतेऽपङ्कत्यशुद्धा ब्रूमो विप्रान् पावनान् स्तानिहैतौ ।
 वेदार्थज्ञानैरगमान् सागमांश्च श्रौताचारे तत्परानङ्गवेतून् ॥६६॥
 एकोऽप्येषां पङ्कितमध्ये सहस्रैर्भुङ्क्ते सार्द्धं यैरपूतेह पङ्कितः ।
 दातुर्दानं सोऽनुमानेन मन्त्रैर्जुष्टां पङ्कितम्भावनाभिः पुनीति ॥६७॥
 पूर्वं येनामन्त्रितोऽह्नि द्वितीये नेयादन्यामन्त्रणे तं विहाय ।
 यो वातिक्रम्येति वाशनात्यनेकश्राद्धान्पापः शूकरो जायतेऽसौ ॥६८॥

भुक्त्वा श्राद्धं ये वृषल्या स्वपन्ति दातुस्ते दौष्कृत्ययुक्ता भवन्ति ।
 दात्रे पुण्यं दापयन्त्यन्नमेते तेषां वेदान् येऽत्रभुक्त्वाऽभ्यसन्ति ॥६९॥
 सत्योपेताः शौचयुक्ताः समन्तादक्रोधा ये ब्रह्मचारित्वमाप्ताः ।
 भाग्योपेता न्यस्तेऽशस्त्रास्सर्वाचार्या ये चैतेषां सत्क्रियेत्यं पितृणाम् ॥७०॥
 मानव्यां ब्रह्मर्षयो माननीयाः सृष्टौ जाता ये मरीच्यादयश्च ।
 पुत्रास्तेषां मानवानां पितृत्वं प्राप्यैवैते सर्वदा लोकपूज्याः ॥७१॥
 ये वा साध्यानां पितृत्वं समाप्ताः वैराजास्ते सोमसत्वं तथाप्ताः ।
 पुत्रा मारीच्यां पितृत्वं गता ये तेऽग्निष्वात्ता देवतानामिहोक्ताः ॥७२॥
 दैत्यानां ये दानवानां तथैव रक्षोगन्धर्वोरगाणां पितृत्वम् ।
 सौपर्णानां किन्नराणां च यक्षाणामाप्ता ये तेऽत्रिजा बर्हिषत्वम् ॥७३॥
 शुक्रोत्पन्नाः सोमपा ब्राह्मणानां पुत्राश्चैवं येऽङ्गिरःसम्प्रसूताः ।
 सम्प्राप्यैते क्षत्रियाणां पितृत्वं सम्पूज्यास्ते ये हविष्मत्वमाप्ताः ॥७४॥
 पौलस्त्या ये चाज्यपास्ते पितृत्वे वैश्यानां शूद्रस्य चैते प्रदिष्टा ।
 वाशिष्ठा ये कालिनस्ते पितृत्वे शूद्रैरेवैतेऽर्हणीया न विप्रैः ॥७५॥
 अग्निष्वात्ताः सौम्यकाव्याग्निदग्धा ये वानाग्नावाहिता बर्हिषत्वम् ।
 प्राप्ताश्चैते ब्राह्मणानामिहोक्ताः सम्पूज्या ये श्रोत्रियाणां पितृत्वे ॥७६॥
 रजतरचितपात्रैस्तर्पिता ये द्विजाग्न्यै-

रूपगततिलतोयैरञ्जलिक्षेपणैश्च ।

निजजनसुतलक्ष्मीं वर्द्धयन्तो नितान्तं

बहुविविधशुभाशीः शालिनस्ते भवन्ति ॥७७॥

इति श्रीरघुनन्दनसिद्धान्तभट्टाचार्यविरचितायां धर्मसिद्धान्तसंहितायां
 श्राद्धकल्पे गृहस्थाचारनिरूपणे चतुर्थोऽध्यायः ।

अथ पञ्चमोऽध्यायः

अथ अद्धया श्राद्धकर्मक्रिया या गृहस्थाश्रमैः शुद्धचित्तैर्विधेया ।
 मूया सोच्यते स्वात्मसंस्थानपूर्वं पितृणां समार्कणितैश्वर्यदायै (?) ॥१॥
 शुचि देशमालिभ्यपेदगोमयेन स्वयञ्चानयेन्मेध्यपत्रान् पलाशान् ।
 कुशैस्सांकुराः सौपमूलैर्वितस्तिप्रमाणैश्च वा पानसाञ्जानयेत्तान् (?) ॥२॥
 विविक्ते समायन्ति ते निर्जनेऽतः पितृणां सदा सत्क्रिया तत्र कार्या ।
 नदीतीरमाश्रित्य वा स्वच्छदेशे विदेशे यथेच्छावकाशः तथैव ॥३॥

पितृणां पुरः श्रद्धया श्राद्धदेशे तदा रक्षका विश्वदेवाः प्रपूज्याः ।
 विलुम्पन्ति रक्षोगणास्त्वन्यथैतदद्यदीहार्प्यते श्राद्धकर्मक्रियासु ॥४॥
 विना देवविप्रार्चनं येऽर्चयन्ति पितृब्राह्मणान् यान्ति तेऽन्धास्तमोऽधम् ।
 समाहृत्य रक्षांस्युपेतं तथैतान् क्रिया व्याहृतान्साध्यान्नाशयन्ति ॥५॥
 विश्वेदेवब्राह्मणास्ते पितृणां विप्रेभ्यो वामेऽग्रतः स्थापनीयाः ।
 प्रागग्राभ्यां ब्रीहियुक्तोदकेन प्राच्या द्वाभ्यामुन्मुखा ये कुशाभ्याम् ॥६॥
 एवम्पित्रोर्ब्राह्मणौ स्वोन्मुखे च स्थाप्यौ द्वाभ्यां सोदकाभ्यां कुशाभ्याम् ।
 गन्धैर्माल्यैः सोपचारैस्तिलैर्वा गाङ्गैरद्भिः पूजयेद्देवपूर्वम् ॥७॥
 तेषामद्भिर्योग्निमान् सोऽग्निमध्येऽनग्निविप्राग्रे तिलैरग्निकार्यम् ।
 विप्रानुज्ञानप्रतिज्ञानपूर्वमोमित्युक्ताग्नौ करिष्ये कुरुष्व ॥८॥
 स्वाहेत्युक्तवैवाग्नयेमन्त्रपूर्वं सोमायैवञ्चान्तकायापि दद्यात् ।
 प्रत्येकं विप्रद्वयोश्चेह पित्रोर्हस्ते पश्चाद्व्यमेभ्यः पितृभ्यः ॥९॥
 अग्नौ दद्याद्ब्राह्मणेभ्योऽपसव्यं पित्रोः पिण्डानुद्धरेदेवमेव ।
 सव्यैर्देवब्राह्मणेभ्यो विशेषाद्वेद्युत्प्लाव्याग्रेऽपसव्योदकेन ॥१०॥
 षड्भिः पिण्डैर्जनिना पातितेन वेद्यां वामेनैव देयैः क्रमेण ।
 पित्रादीनुद्दिश्य मातामहादीन् हव्यैर्नव्यैर्गोत्रजस्तर्पयेत्तान् ॥११॥
 दत्त्वा पिण्डान् दर्भवेद्यां स्वहस्तं मूले मृज्याल्लेपभागभ्यः कुशेन ।
 हस्तौ प्रक्षाल्य त्रिराचम्य शुद्धः प्राणानायम्य त्रिधा प्रार्थयेच्च ॥१२॥
 निजकर्मफलैरभीप्सितं सुखलक्ष्मीसुतवाहनादिकम् ।
 वृणुयाद्वरवाग्विभूतिभिर्मधु वातेति गिरः समुच्चरन् ॥१३॥
 पिण्डांश्चैतान् स्थापयित्वोदकेन वस्त्रैराच्छाद्यार्चयेच्चन्दनाद्यैः ।
 भिन्त्रैस्तुत्वैवोन्नमो वः समेतैरेतानाजिघ्रेद्विधिज्ञः क्रमेण ॥१४॥
 धृत्वान्यत्रैभ्योऽल्पमात्रां विधाय विप्रैर्भोज्यान्ने समावेशयेताम् ।
 यावत्तं चात्युष्णमश्नन्ति तूष्णीं प्रेतीभूताः पूर्वजास्तावदेव ॥१५॥
 विप्रो भुङ्क्ते यः शिरो वेष्टितोऽसौ यो वा भुङ्क्ते दक्षिणाशामुखस्थः ।
 सोपीनत्को यश्च तेषां फलानि रक्षोभिः संवोसितानां हतानि ॥१६॥
 चाण्डालैर्वा कुक्कुटैर्वा वराहैः षण्डैः स्त्रीभिर्यद्रजोभिः प्लुताभिः ।
 स्पृष्टं दृष्ट्वापि तत्कर्म सर्वं नश्यत्येवं कुक्कुरालोक्तिश्च ॥१७॥
 अन्ये ये वाऽसंस्कृता दुर्जनाश्च पापात्मानः खञ्जकाणादयश्च ।
 होदिज्ञा ये वाधिकाङ्गाः परे च कर्मभ्रष्टास्तेऽपनेयौ विशेषात् ॥१८॥

निःसार्यान्नेभ्योऽल्पमात्राजलेन प्लाव्या भुक्तब्राह्मणानामिहाग्रे ।
 निर्वर्ज्या साऽसंस्कृतेभ्यः प्रमीतेभ्यस्त्यागिभ्यो वा कुलस्त्रीजनेभ्यः ॥१९॥
 • कार्योत्सृष्टस्त्रादिरार्यैर्विचार्य निस्सार्येषा दीयते दर्भमूले ।
 • तस्मादेषोच्छिष्टभागभ्यो द्विकीर्योच्छिष्टस्थाने प्रायशो दापनीया ॥२०॥
 येषां सापिण्ड्यं न यावत्स्वकीयैश्श्रद्धोपेतैर्दाहितानां क्रियेत ।
 तावत्तेभ्यश्चैकपिण्डप्रदानं कुर्याद्वीनं देवविप्रार्चनेन ॥२१॥
 श्राद्धं भुक्त्वा योऽन्नमुच्छेद्य शूद्रप्रायान् शूद्रान् वार्षयेत्पापबुद्धिः ।
 स्वर्गाल्लोकात्तं बहिष्कृत्य कालसूत्रे क्रूराः कालिनः कारयन्ति ॥२२॥

स्वदितमिति च भुक्तब्राह्मणांस्तान्निवेद्य

पुनरुपकृततोयैः कारयेद्वाग्विशुद्धान् ।

वितुषनवविधूतैर्दक्षिणां चाक्षतैस्तैः

सदुचितमपि दत्त्वा वाचयेन्मङ्गलानि ॥२३॥

स्वदितमिति निवेद्यं सुश्रुतञ्च क्रमेण

बहुविधपितृगोष्ठश्राद्धयोर्देवकार्यम् ।

रचितमिति सुसम्पन्नं तथा भुक्तविप्रान्

प्रति सदसि निवेद्यं स्वोदयं श्राद्धदेशे ॥२४॥

पित्र्ये मुन्यन्नं पयः पायसत्वे सोमेऽनुत्सृष्टञ्च मध्वादि कुर्यात् ।

लावण्यञ्चाक्षारयुक्तं निवेद्यं विद्वद्वर्यैर्द्विविः कीर्त्यतेऽत्र ॥२५॥

शुद्धो भूत्वा ब्राह्मणास्तान् विसृज्य वाग्भिस्तुत्वा प्रार्थयेद्दक्षिणास्यः ।

दातारो नः सन्तु वेदाश्च देयं श्रद्धोपेतं सन्ततिः सौख्यमस्तु ॥२६॥

गोविप्रजावीन् विसृज्याशुपिण्डान् पक्षीनुद्धृत्यैव च प्राशयेत्तान् ।

शुद्धाग्नौ वाप्सु क्षिपेच्छुद्धदेशे श्रद्धायुक्तः स स्वयञ्चाविलम्ब्य ॥२७॥

पातिव्रत्ये संस्थिता प्रार्थयन्ती पत्युः पुत्रं या सती श्रद्धयैव ।

नित्यश्राद्धे वार्षिकश्रद्धयेभ्यस्त्रिभ्यः साद्यान्मध्यमात्माश्रयेभ्यः ॥२८॥

पत्या नित्यश्राद्धकृत्योपयुक्ता कुर्यात्कार्याणि स्वयं वर्षमात्रम् ।

पिण्डञ्चाद्यान्मध्यगं तेभ्य एवमेषा सूते चात्मजं वर्षमध्ये ॥२९॥

आयुष्मन्तं सद्यशदेभूतियुक्तं प्रज्ञोपेतं धार्मिकं सत्प्रजाभिः ।

संसेव्यं सात्त्विकं शक्तिमुख्यं सूते सैवं यादृशं भावयन्ती ॥३०॥

तिष्ठेदुच्छिष्टं तथा तावदेव यावद्विप्राः प्रार्थिता न प्रशान्तु ।

कृत्वा श्राद्धं नैतिकं कर्मस्य कार्यं मध्यं सन्ध्या वा वलिर्वातिथेयम् ॥३१॥

माघैर्मूलं ब्रीहियुक्तैरथाभिः सर्वैः पुष्पैः सत्फलैर्वा यज्वैर्वा ।
 दत्तैर्मांसं प्रीतिमायान्ति पित्राद्यास्ते श्राद्धे सत्तिलैस्तपिताः ॥३३॥
 मांसश्राद्धं क्षत्रियाणां विशेषादुक्तं यच्चैतैर्मृगामार्गणेन ।
 प्राप्तं मांसं तेन चान्याश्रितस्य मांसश्राद्धादौ पशोर्मरितस्थः ॥३३॥
 बृद्धः श्वेतोऽजापतिर्लम्बकर्णो लोकैर्वाच्यः क्षीणसर्वेन्द्रियत्वे ।
 कर्णौ जिह्वा चाप्सु यस्य स्पृशन्ति मांसैर्वाध्रौणस्य तुष्टिर्दशाब्दम् ॥३४॥
 ये वा पिण्डान् कालशाकोद्भवांस्तान्माहाशल्कान् मत्स्यभेदोद्भवांश्च ।
 तुष्टिस्तेषां पूर्वजानामन्ता दद्युः खाङ्गान् लौहं छागामिषांश्च ॥३५॥
 येषां वृत्तिः सात्त्विकी यज्ञदाने सेवा विष्णोर्यैरकार्यं कदापि ।
 अर्च्चा का वा मांसचर्च्चा न तेषां यच्चार्चया चासुरत्वं प्रयान्ति ॥३६॥
 भूषाद्भूयाद्भावितोऽसौ कुलेऽस्मिन् ज्ञात्वा दद्यादयस्त्रयोदशयुपेताम् ।
 वर्षाकालाप्तां मघां मध्यगेऽर्कं पिण्डान् मध्वक्तान् पयः पायसेन ॥३७॥
 श्राद्धे प्रोक्ता या दशम्यादयस्ताः कृष्णे पक्षे भूतहीनाः प्रशस्ताः ।
 तिथ्यर्क्षेष्वेतेषु युग्मासु कृत्वा वर्षान्तं सर्वान् समप्नोति कामान् ॥३८॥
 तिथ्यर्क्षेष्वेतेष्वयुग्मासु यस्तु दद्यात्पिण्डान् पुत्रकामः पितृभ्यः ।
 प्राप्नोत्येष प्रायशो वर्षमध्ये पुत्रं प्रज्ञासद्यशोभूतियुक्तम् ॥३९॥
 कृष्णः पक्षः श्राद्धकर्मोपयोगे श्रेष्ठस्तद्वन्मध्यगार्कोत्तरार्द्धः ।
 श्राद्धं कार्यं श्रद्धयैवापसव्यं दर्भैर्विवज्जीवमात्रैर्विशेषात् ॥४०॥
 रात्रौ श्राद्धं नैव कुर्यात्तिथैव सन्ध्याकाले चोभयत्रोदगते च ।
 सूर्ये कुर्याच्चैतदा राक्षसं तच्छ्राद्धं वाच्यं राक्षसाः प्राप्नुवन्ति ॥४१॥
 श्राद्धं कर्तुं प्रत्यहं येऽसमर्था गार्हस्थ्ये विप्रास्तथा येऽतिमग्नाः ।
 तैर्हमन्तग्रीष्मवर्षास्ववश्यं कार्यञ्चैकं पञ्चयज्ञेऽन्वहन्तु ॥४२॥
 सन्ध्यां कृत्वा तर्पयन्तो द्विजाग्रा ये वा मध्याह्ने पितृन् सावधानान् ।
 ध्यायन्त्येते निष्प्रयासं प्रयान्ति स्वेष्टाँल्लोकानुत्तमान्निर्भयास्ते ॥४३॥
 देवर्षीणां तर्पणं यत्तदेव तेषामानृष्यं पितृणां तथैव ।
 श्राद्धोपेता येऽनृणास्तैर्यदन्यत् किञ्चिद्दानं दीयते तत्फलाय ॥४४॥
 विधिवदधिगतानां धर्मशास्त्रार्थतत्त्वं परिणतबहुवाक्योद्भासितां संहिताम् ।
 भवति विभवहेतुर्धर्ममार्गोचितानां प्रतिदिवसमिहैषा संहिता पाठकानाम् ॥४५॥
 इति श्रीरघुनन्दनसिद्धान्तभट्टाचार्यविरचितायां धर्मसिद्धान्तसंहितायां
 श्राद्धकल्पपरिस्कारे पञ्चमोऽध्यायः ।

अथ षष्ठोऽध्यायः

अथाशोधमारभ्यते वक्तुमिष्टाप्यशुद्धक्रिया कर्मिणां शुद्धियोग्या ।
 अशुद्धा यथा बान्धवा स्ते मृतानां तथा पूर्वजा जातमात्रार्भकाणाम् ॥१॥
 दशाहक्रिया गात्रसम्पूर्णतोद्धवं मृतानां सपिण्डक्रिया दाहकेन ।
 न यावत्कृतैकादशे ह्यग्रजेन स्ववंश्या न शुद्धाः स्वयं तावदस्य ॥२॥
 तथा बालकन्नालविक्षेपणोद्धवं भवत्यग्रजेषूदकैकक्रियेषु ।
 न यावद्दशाहाद्बहिः स्वक्रमेण व्रजत्यग्रजा सूतकं तावदेव ॥३॥
 न देवास्तदाराधनीया स्तदीयैर्न यज्ञा न वेदक्रिया कर्म नादभिः ।
 विधेयन्तु तत्संस्मृतिज्ञानसाध्यं न वातिथ्यमन्तःक्रिया सूतकानाम् ॥४॥
 न विद्याव्रतं क्षमातकानां दशाहद्विशुद्धिर्भवत्येकरात्रेण किन्तु ।
 सदा धर्ममार्गे रतानां सतान्तु त्र्यहाच्छुद्धिरस्थिक्रियासञ्चयेन ॥५॥
 सपिण्डक्रिया सप्तमानां विभेदे क्रमाद्भिन्नवंशोद्भवानान्न तेषाम् ।
 तथा ज्ञातनाम्नां विदेशस्थितानामसौ पिण्डचभावान्न चाशौचमस्ति ॥६॥
 यथा सूतकं दाहिनोऽस्पृश्यतायां तथा नेतरेषां च वंशोद्भवानाम् ।
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 शवस्पर्शिनां गोत्रजानामथापि क्रियाशौचयुक्तं न वाऽहोभिरत्र ।
 पुनर्मुण्डितानां त्र्यहाच्छुद्धिरुक्ता गतानाञ्जलक्षेपणैः सोदकानाम् ॥९॥
 गुरोगौरवेणैव शिष्यो मृतस्य स्वयं वाहकैस्सार्द्धमार्थ्यप्रकारैः ।
 दशाहादिकं गोत्रजैः कारयित्वा स्वधर्मोचितां शुद्धिमाप्नोत्यभिन्नः ॥१०॥
 श्रवद्गर्भमास प्रमाणैर्दिनैस्तु स्त्रियः शुद्धिमायान्ति गर्भच्युतायाः ।
 रजोनिर्गमानन्तरं पञ्चमेऽह्नि स्वयं शुध्यति स्त्री रजोभिप्लुता तु ॥११॥
 न चूडाकृतैषां विशुद्धिर्निशायां त्रिरात्रैर्विशुध्यन्ति चूडोद्गतानाम् ।
 सगोत्रैर्न चोत्तद्विवर्षस्य कार्य्या क्रिया काचिदेषां त्र्यहाच्छुद्धिरस्ति ॥१२॥
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 न दाहोदकादिद्विकारार्थकाष्ठं यथैनं बहिष्कृत्य शुद्धिस्त्र्यहेण ॥१३॥
 त्रिवर्धन्ति वा मृतस्यास्य कार्य्या न दाहक्रिया स्वोदकादिः क्रमेण ।
 पुनर्जातदन्तस्य द्वाजातनाम्नो विधेयोदकादिक्रिया दाहितस्य ॥१४॥

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